THE STORY OF THE ENGLISH TOWNS

HALIFAX

J. S. Fletcher

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THE STORY OF THE ENGLISH TOWNS

HALIFAX

BY

J. S. FLETCHER

MEMBER OF THE YORKSHIRE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY

WITH 8 ILLUSTRATIONS

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PREFACE

THE numerous works referred to in the appended list of authorities on the subject are a proof that the history of my native town has not been neglected by those who are proud to belong to it: few of the greater Yorkshire cities and boroughs have had so much attention given to them as local antiquaries have given to Halifax. In the following brief sketch I have endeavoured to give as comprehensive an account of the borough as can be got into such limited space, but I am convinced of how very much I have had to leave unsaid. I am under great obligations to the various works about Halifax edited and written by members of the Yorkshire Archæological Society, and especially to Mr. John Lister, F.S.A., for his kindness in sending me his lectures on the Life of Dr. Haldesworth, one of the most valuable and illuminating works on the Reformation Period which it has ever been my good fortune to read.

J. S. FLETCHER.

THE CROSSWAYS,
HAMBROOK, CHICHESTER.

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HALIFAX

I. THE EARLY HISTORY

DURING the eighteenth century three books about Halifax were published, the original editions of which are now so scarce that copies of the first and second are probably worth their weight in gold, while a copy of the third is certainly worth its weight—a considerable weight—in silver. The first, printed in London by J. How, for William Bentley of Halifax (who was probably successor of the F. Bentley whose name appears more than once in the Term Catalogues between 1660 and 1709 as a bookseller and publisher of sermons and theological tracts), appeared in 1708, and was entitled *Hallifax and Its Gibbet Law Placed in a True Light*, and it described the Town, the nature of its Soil, the Temper and Disposition of its People, the Antiquity of its Customary Law, with many other Matters and Things of great Remark, never before published, together with an account of the Unparalleled Tragedy of Sir John Eland of Eland. William Bentley, the bookseller, got the credit of this book for some time, for no author's name appeared in its title-page: its real author, however, was one Samuel Midgley, who seems to have been a medical practitioner of sorts, but so poverty-stricken that he was three times in Halifax

gaol for debt, and was a prisoner in York Castle for the same sad reason in 1685, at the same time that Oliver Heywood, the Nonconformist, was there for conscience' sake. Midgley died in 1695, thirteen years before his book was printed; nearly two hundred years after his death a reprint of it was issued by the late Horsfall Turner, who had recently reprinted the second of these three eighteenth-century accounts of the town—the *Antiquities of Halifax*, by Thomas Wright, which was originally printed at Leeds by James Lister for James Hodgson, bookseller in Halifax, in 1738, and was sold—according to its title-page—by John Wood, at the Dove in Paternoster Row, London, by the booksellers of Leeds, and by J. Lord at Wakefield. Wright's book, like Midgley's, is a small one; Wright himself was a clergyman, a Lancashire man, who, after being educated at Blackburn Grammar School and St. John's College, Cambridge, was for several years a curate at the parish church of Halifax, and afterwards curate of Ripponden, close by. A successor of his in these curacies, John Watson, was the author of the third book about Halifax, the *History and Antiquities*, a substantial quarto, published in London in 1775, which has never been reprinted, though a section of a new edition of it, with additions by Mr. F. A. Leyland, was issued some years ago. Of these three eighteenth-century authors, Watson was certainly the best equipped for the task of writing a satisfactory account of a town which by his time had become of some importance. He, like Wright, was a Lancashire man, inasmuch, at any rate (he was actually born in Cheshire), as he was educated at the grammar schools of Eccles, Wigan, and Manchester; he went to Oxford in 1742, and was elected a Fellow of Brasenose College four years later; in 1750 he was licensed to the curacy of Halifax by Matthew Hutton, Archbishop of

York, and there he remained until 1754, when he was preferred to the perpetual curacy of Ripponden. He afterwards became rector of Meningsby, in Lincolnshire, and subsequently of Stockport; before either preferment fell to him he had been elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries. He wrote much on antiquarian and archæological matters, and though a vast mass of information has come to light on the subject since his time, his quarto still remains, in its degree, the most important single work yet written on Halifax.

Each of these three historians of the eighteenth century has something to say as to the origin of the name of the town with which he is dealing. Midgley and Wright, who both wrote in a style more akin to the fifteenth century than their own, relied greatly on myth and legend; Watson, more scholarly, attempts reasonable explanation. But all, in reality, fall back on previous writers like Camden, Fuller, and Drayton, who had caught up fanciful stories. "All ancient records that ever were," says Camden, "do give [this town] the name of Halifax, the reason of which seems to have been this: that at first it was a Hermitage of very great antiquity; the Church that now is built from, or rather added to, a Chapel long since built, was consecrated and dedicated to St. John Baptist, who is styled by some ancients the first father of hermits, and in which place, as they pretend, was kept the real face of St. John Baptist; hence was it named Halifax, or Holy-Face." Fuller has another explanation of the name, to which Camden also makes reference: to Fuller, however, the whole thing is a piece of foolish superstition. There was once upon a time a certain ecclesiastic in this wild region who was passionately enamoured of a young woman, who, on her part, was not taken with him. In a fit of rage, he cut off her

head and hung it in a yew-tree ; the people came thither and plucked off the hairs as relics ; in time these credulous folk, says Fuller, " conceited that the veins, which in form of little threads spread themselves between the bark and body of that Yew-Tree . . . were the very hairs indeed of this Virgin head, to whom they flock in pilgrimage." Thus, according to these legends, and if their presenters' theory that " Fax is us'd by the English on the North Side of Trent to signify Hair," be true, the place got its name of Halifax, signifying Holy Hair. Drayton gives this legend and explanation in his *Polyolbion :* he says, too, what Camden narrates, that the town was once called Horton. As to the holy-face legend, it is still perpetuated in the borough coat-of-arms, the lozenged shield of which, surmounted by a lamb bearing an ewer, presents in its centre a severed head and face from which descend three drops of blood.

Whitaker, who wrote much on the history and antiquities of the western side of the county, a hundred years ago, has another explanation of the name of Halifax which commended itself greatly to Crabtree, author of a History of Halifax which was published in 1836 : Crabtree, indeed, says that Whitaker's theory dispels " all doubt relative to the true origin of the name." " The name of Halifax," says Whitaker, " is a singularly compounded name, half Saxon, and half Norman ; which, not having been understood, has occasioned the invention of an idle fable to explain it. It appears, however, to have been no fable that in the deep valley, then embowered in woods, where the parish church now stands, was an Hermitage dedicated to St. John the Baptist, the imagined sanctity of which attracted a great concourse of pilgrims in every direction. Four ways, by which the modern town of Halifax is entered, still distinctly point at the parish church as

their common centre, though at one extremity of the place. These were the roads by which the pilgrims approached the object of their devotions, and hence the name Halifax or Holy-ways ; for *fax*, in Norman French, is an old plural noun, denoting high-ways. Thus Carfax, in Oxford . . . is the four roads ; and Fairfax, whatever may be pretended to the contrary, is neither more nor less than the fair roads." Whitaker, in this last sentence, is evidently thinking of what Camden and Fuller both said as to the origin of the name Fairfax—that the original Fairfaxes got it because of their bright hair. But as to his own theory about Halifax, it fades under the light of modern scholarship, and is, as Professor Moorman remarks in his *Place Names of the West Riding of Yorkshire* (vol. xviii of the Thoresby Society's Publications), " not worthy of serious consideration." " The termination in Halifax," says Professor Moorman, " is in all probability identical with the Teutonic root ' fak ' which appears as *faec* in O. E., *fak* or *fek* in Old Finian, *vak* in Dutch, *fack* in Swedish, *fah* in Old High German, and *fach* in Mod. High German. The root idea in all these words is that of a division, but whereas the O. E. *faec* was used only as a division of time, most of the continental nations used the word for a division of space ; hence the Dutch and Frisian sense—an empty place or space . . . the probability is that Halifax is a Scandinavian or Low German place-name. The first element may be O. E. *halig*=holy, but it is more probable that it is the O. N[orse] adjective *hallr*=sloping, or the O. N. personal name Halli, which is found in the Norwegian place-names, Haltorp and Halstad. This gives us, as the meaning of Halifax, ' the sloping divisions of land,' or ' Halli's divisions of land, Halli's shares.' "

Upon the very earliest days of Halifax, Midgley

and Wright (who largely copied Midgley) have little to remark: Midgley says with admirable candour that it is only reasonable to suppose that some of the posterity of Adam fixed their habitation upon the spot of ground of which he is writing. He can go no further back than Camden gives him warrant for, and Camden is no authority, for he says that over five hundred years ago —presumably from his own time—Halifax was populous and rich, whereas there is no evidence that Halifax was any more than a part of a manor, and an inconsiderable part, some time after the Norman Conquest. Yet in the wild regions of which it forms a centre there are many signs that here, on the eastern side of the Pennine Range, man had a footing before our earliest accounts of the district begin. Within the vast area of the ancient parish (seventeen miles from east to west, and eleven miles from north to south, and containing nearly eighty thousand acres) there are numerous remains which may safely be attributed to the Brigantian era. Of actual monuments of antiquity in the neighbourhood of the town, Sir Bertram Windle, in his *Remains of the Prehistoric Age in England*, mentions particularly the "Lad Stone," near Greetland, the "Wolf's Fold," near Slack, the first a menhir, the second a circle; and the traces of the dykes near Cooper's Bridge. Watson, in his book, and Crabtree, in his, both mention many others—rocking-stones; altars, so-called; and pillars, such as that of Sowerby, akin to the monoliths found in other parts of the county, and Watson, following the fashion of his time, attributes all or most of them to the Druids. But many of these things are of a hoarier antiquity than the Druidical system, or, at any rate, than of Druidism as practised amongst the Celtic inhabitants of these islands.

Of any Roman incursion into the valleys and ravines,

which, with its central plateau of high ground, go to make up Halifax as we see it, there are not so many evidences as are found in a great number of other Yorkshire towns and villages. The place stood a little out of the way of the road between Manchester (Mancunium) and Aldborough (Isurium), and some miles from the line of that section of the Second Iter which runs between Calcaria (Tadcaster) and Cambodunum, now believed to be identical with Slack, near Huddersfield. But at various times Roman coins have been unearthed in the parish; Crabtree mentions finds of this sort near Elland, and at Stainland, and in Sowerby, Warley, and High Greenwood, near Heptonstall. And as recently as May, 1915, some children, playing near a well-known place of resort known as "The Rocks," on the edge of Skircoat Moor, found some coins lying at the foot of the masses of millstone grit which there crops out from the soil. These were carefully collected, and others found close by; the total number thus discovered was 1075. Mr. A. M. Woodward, who visited the place of discovery a few days later, and wrote an account of the coins for the *Yorkshire Archæological Journal*, says that no trace of any vase or similar receptacle was found, and that it was obvious "that no Roman habitation ever occupied the site." He adds that finds of Roman coins in Halifax and its immediate neighbourhood have been by no means rare—still there is little to show that the Roman occupation ever seriously affected the site of the modern town.

Nor are there in and about Halifax many traces of the Saxon and the Dane. Watson, and his successor in the writing of Halifax history, Crabtree, found such traces in the earthworks at Greenhalgh, in Erringden, and in the elevation called Conygarth, at Barkisland, near Ripponden, and in the mound known as Castlehill,

near Rastrick. Both writers indulge in certain speculations as to the Saxon and Danish doings in the neighbourhood, but it is, after all, merely speculation. Crabtree is right when he says that " the earliest period of written and authentic information relative to this Parish commences with Domesday." But while certain parts of the ancient parish of Halifax are certainly mentioned in the Domesday records as being within the manor of Wakefield, there is no mention of Halifax as Halifax. Warley, Sowerby, and some other places, now practically absorbed in the town, are mentioned, and in the account of the lands of Ilbert de Lacy, to whom William the Conqueror had given vast possessions stretching from Lincolnshire to the Lancashire borders, there is reference to Elland and to North and South Owram. The de Lacy lands hereabouts are described as being waste; the lands within the *terra regis* were in cultivation. Halifax, indeed, does not emerge from obscurity until the time when the Manor of Wakefield was granted to the Earls of Warren late in the eleventh, or early in the twelfth century (" prior to the year 1121," says Mr. Lister in " Court Rolls of the Manor of Wakefield," vol. iii), but from that time onward its name appears with some frequency and regularity in contemporary documents. About this period, William, Earl of Warren, made a grant of Halifax, Conisborough, and some other Yorkshire churches to the Cluniac Priory of St. Pancras at Lewes, in Sussex, which had been founded by his ancestor, another William, whose wife Gundreda, is (erroneously, according to Freeman) believed to have been daughter or step-daughter of the Conqueror. The proctor of the Prior of Lewes held a court in the place twice a year, and Mr. Lister believes that the words in the second Earl's grant, *ecclesiam de Halifax cum suis pertinentiis*,

MOOT HALL AND CHURCH TOWER.

gave to the Cluniac of Lewes the then township and its tenants, free and unfree. If this is so, says Mr. S. O. Addy in his book, *Church and Manor*, the grant must have conveyed the Manor of Halifax. The court rolls, however, have been lost. But there is frequent reference to Halifax in the Wakefield Court Rolls of the early part of the fourteenth century. Courts were frequently held there, and their records show that the causes tried were very much akin to those which come before magistrates of the present day. Cases of assault, of trespass, of theft, of poaching, of arson, of slander, of burglary; all these appear with frequency. Some are peculiar to the time; thus, one defendant is fined twelve pence—a considerable sum in those days—"for imparting a counsel [secret] confided to him"; various folk are amerced for brewing bad beer; one, who "made beer at a half-penny," is forgiven, because the beer is good. The names which appear in these records are very much what the Halifax surnames are to-day; one gets the idea that, making due allowance for the different conditions of time and circumstance, life in those days was not vastly different from our own as regards offences against and administration of justice. But we still know little of Halifax history at this period; it is not, indeed, until nearly the end of the fourteenth century that the town and its people emerge from the dim mists of the past and come into a clearer light.

II. THE POLL TAX OF 1379

THE Parliament which sat at Westminster from April 25 to May 27, 1379, was chiefly occupied with the consideration of money matters. Edward III. was dead, after a reign of fifty years, and a boy-king, Richard II., most unfortunate of English monarchs, filled his place under the jealous eye of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster. The finances of the nation were in a parlous condition. The supplies voted at the Parliament of Gloucester in 1378 had proved totally inadequate for the maintenance of national defence and less urgent necessities, and it became imperative that more money should be raised, and raised quickly. The Westminster Parliament accordingly substituted for a previous grant the graduated Poll Tax, or Lay Subsidy, which we distinguish from others by its date—1379. It rated every man in accordance with his rank—in other words, every person in the kingdom above the age of sixteen was to pay something, as a direct contribution to the national exchequer. John of Gaunt himself, as the richest man in the kingdom, was amerced in 10 marks; earls paid £4; barons and bannerets, £2; so it progressed in the downward scale to the humble folk who paid each a groat. The two Convocations of Canterbury and York adopted the same method, and to supplement the result (which, according to the Rolls

of Parliament, only produced £22,000) the subsidies on wool and merchandise were continued for twelve months from the succeeding Michaelmas.

The most interesting thing about this Poll Tax or Lay Subsidy of 1379 is that it gives us of these days a very good idea of the state of the population of England at the end of the fourteenth century. The Poll Tax Rolls are in existence, and we may learn from them a great deal about the size and value of our towns and villages at that time, the names and degrees of the folk who lived in them, the trades and handicrafts which they pursued, and even something of the history of families. How did Halifax stand in relation to the other Yorkshire towns at this time?—more particularly in relation to the towns of the West Riding? According to Raine, in his book on York, York, about the end of the reign of Edward III., had a population of at least 10,000; this was due to the fact that the city was constantly visited by the Court, and played no inconsiderable part in the affairs of the country. There was a steadily growing population at Hull, where the de la Poles and other merchants were developing the trade of the new sea-port; there was a considerable population in Beverley, then at the height of its fame as a sanctuary. But in the West Riding Pontefract was the biggest town—608 separate persons contributed to the Lay Subsidy there—and next to it in order came Doncaster, Sheffield, Selby, Tickhill, Rotherham, Wakefield, Snaith, Ripon. Leeds was a very small place—some fifty families may be reckoned as being there at this period; Bradford was even smaller; Bingley was twice as big as either: Knaresborough, Bawtry, and Tadcaster, while centres of importance, were no more than villages clustering about a castle, or a hall, or a church.

In a list of the important West Riding towns of this

period, then, Halifax, as a separate entity, has no place. But its parish holds a considerable place. It included twenty separate townships: Barkisland, Elland-cum-Greetland, Fixby, Halifax, Heptonstall, Hipperholme-cum-Brighouse, Langfield, Midgley, Northowram, Ovenden, Rastrick, Rishworth-cum-Norland, Shelf, Skircoat, Southowram, Sowerby, Stainland-cum-Old-Lindley, Stansfield, Wadsworth, and Warley. The total amount of the tax paid by the parish was £10 4*s.* 2*d.* The largest item was £2 5*s.* 4*d.* paid by Elland-cum-Greetland; the smallest, one shilling paid by Fixby. Halifax itself paid 7*s.* 4*d.*—which may be compared with the 19*s.* 4*d.* paid by Huddersfield, the £1 3*s.* paid by Bradford, the £3 raised by Leeds, and the £4 15*s.* 8*d.* collected at Wakefield.

Now, in this Poll Tax Return of 1379, Halifax and Heptonstall were joined together as one contributory, because these two townships then constituted the rectorial manor of Halifax-cum-Heptonstall. The Halifax share, as we have noted, was 7*s.* 4*d.*; that of Heptonstall was 5*s.* 4*d.*, the total for the two being 12*s.* 8*d.* This amount was raised by the separate contributions of thirty-eight different persons, each of whom paid the lowest sum provided for in the Parliament's scheme, a groat—fourpence. From these figures Mr. Lister and Mr. Ogden, the editors of the Poll Tax Returns for Halifax, make an estimate of the population. Allowing three children under sixteen years of age to each married couple, and thus giving an average of five to a family, the population of Halifax in 1379 must have been 90—that is to say, 16 married couples, 6 single persons, 48 children under 16, and 4 mendicants and clerics, who, by the provisions of the tax, were exempt. Halifax, then, as a town, must, in these first days of the reign of Richard II., have been of very small dimensions,

probably no more than a cluster of cottages about its first church. That all its inhabitants were poor is evidenced by the fact that nobody paid more than fourpence—the lowest possible contribution.

Yet none—or at most, only one or two, for there was probably a curate as well as a vicar at the church—of these people was of the very poorest sort, for out of the ninety, two at the most were mendicants; in the whole parish, with an estimated population of over 1800 in the twenty townships, mendicants and clerics, the exempt, are reckoned at only 26. They were all able to pay their fourpences, and were therefore presumably earning a sufficient, and perhaps a comfortable, living, in one way or another. But they are not vague shadows, these people—we know who they were, what they did; we have particulars of them, not only in the Poll Tax Returns, but in contemporary documents, Court rolls, De Banco rolls, rentals, and the like. When the taxpayers of Halifax proper are distinguished from those of Heptonstall, we find names which are common in the town to-day; we can tell something of their then holders from the various documents just mentioned. William Hanson was probably the most considerable person in the place, though he, to be sure, paid no more than the others—a groat. He was constable of Halifax in this year, and again in 1380. Thomas Lovels figures in a coroner's roll of 1377, when he was one of the jurors who held an enquiry into the death of one Henry Mathewson of Northowram, alleged to have been slain with a pole-axe by Richard of Sunderland. John Otes, another taxpayer, was a fellow-juror of Lovels' at the same inquest; there is record that he was fined for brewing in October, 1379. So, too, was Otes de Haldesworth. Robert Lyster had been constable of Halifax in 1371 and 1372; to him the Prior and Convent of

Lewes, as Lords of the Manor, had granted the monopoly of dyeing in Halifax: he paid them eighteenpence a year for his privilege. Thomas de Cliff figures in 1370 in an affair in which blood appears to have been freely shed; twenty years after the Poll Tax his name appears as owner of Ellenroyd. John Gibson and Richard de Bothum were constables in 1382–3 and 1371–2 respectively: John Milner, who was constable in 1370, had been one of the three Halifax collectors of the subsidy granted in the last year of Edward III. Another constable who paid tax in 1379, Richard Robinson, was frequently fined for brewing; his name, too, frequently occurs in the lists of jurors at coroners' inquests. The names of many of these 1379 taxpayers are met with in the court rolls for one offence or another; John Smithson is brought before the court in 1398 for enclosing a path leading to the common well; four years later he is charged with having cut down and carried away timber belonging to Henry Savile, an offence in which several of his fellow townsfolk seem to have participated —Cecilia de Den, another taxpayer of 1379, is one of them. Brewing offences appear to have been common, especially amongst the women—Joan de Nasreton is fined in 1371 and 1372; Margery de Ravenslawe in 1371; Alice, widow of Robert, is an incorrigible offender in this way; John Jackson's wife is amerced in 1398; twenty-eight years previously John himself had been prosecuted because he refused to attend the election of the Greave.

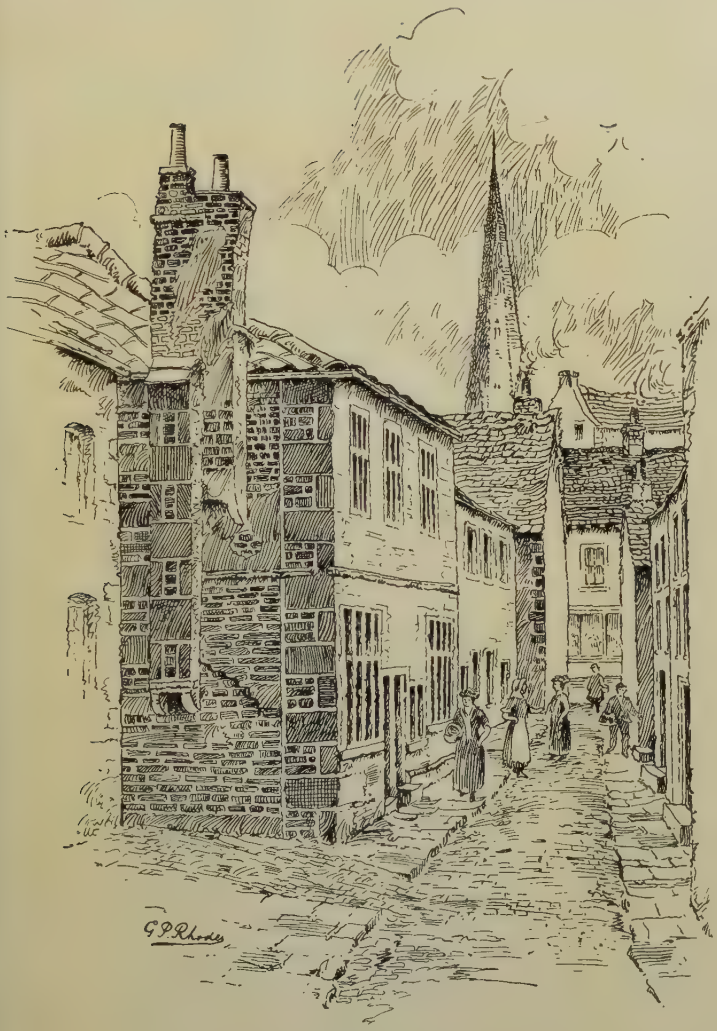
While no one paid more than a groat in Halifax itself, there were a few persons in its widespread parish who were called upon for much more important contributions. At Elland, then the most important township out of the twenty which made up the parish of Halifax (its population is estimated by Mr. Lister and

Mr. Ogden at 31 married couples, 30 single persons, 93 children, and 3 mendicants and clerics; 188 individuals in all), John Savile, described as a chevalier, paid twenty shillings: he, of course, was one of the great family of Savile, already beginning to be powerful in Yorkshire. At Elland, too, Henry Langfield paid 3*s.* 4*d.*; he is set down as a franklin (freeholder), as is also John Linsey, of Cromwell Bottom, who paid a like sum. There were eight merchants in the parish: two at Elland, two at Hipperholme, two at Stansfield; one at Ovenden; one at Wadsworth. Each paid one shilling to the Poll Tax. There were twenty-one tradesmen and artificers—Elland could boast of six; Hipperholme had four; Southowram three; Midgley, Barkisland, and Rishworth two each; at Skircoat there was one, and at Stainland one. Each of these paid sixpence.

It is worth while to consider who these superior taxpayers were and what they did. The merchants were Robert Clay and William Heaton, of Elland; Henry Rishworth and Thomas Thorpe of Hipperholme; John Shore and William Stansfeld, of Stansfeld; Robert Matthewson, of Ovenden; and Robert Wadsworth, of Wadsworth. Sometimes they are set down as *Mercator*, which is Latin; sometimes as *Marchaunt*, which is French; sometimes as *Marchand*, which is Middle English. The exact particulars of their merchandise do not appear, but it was, of course, wool, in one form or another; Halifax, small and insignificant as it was, had already begun its famous trade. That there were weavers, spinners, fullers, and dyers in the parish we know from the names. The Webster folk were, of course, weavers; William Challoner, of Elland, was a maker of coverlettes, or counterpanes—he got his name from Chalons in France, famous for its textiles; the word shalloon, well known in the Halifax trade, is

similarly derived. Two women of the parish, Ibbot Holgate and Matilda Warlove, spinners, were fined in 1372, at Halifax, for taking too much wage, contrary to the Statute. All the Walkers were fullers; if there was no fulling mill in Halifax in 1379, there was certainly one in 1414, where Richard Sunderland surrendered his enclosure called the Tenter Croft, for tenter croft is only another name for fulling mill. And all the Listers were dyers; in this Poll Tax record of 1379, at least four are included—two John Listers of Elland, Adam Lister of Elland, and Robert Lister of Halifax. And there were seven, and perhaps nine "scissors" or tailors in the parish: John at Barkisland; John Birker at Hipperholme; John Midgley, of that place; John Godley at Rishworth; Hugh Copley, at Skircoat; John Exley, at Southowram; Adam Hague, at Elland; and, presumably of the same craft, Adam and Thomas, of Hipperholme. As to other trades, there are six corn millers (milners) named; two at Elland, one at Halifax, one at Heptonstall, one at Northowram, one at Sowerby; there is also reference to the herding of cows, sheep, and pigs.

Much is to be learnt from these Poll Tax records of the names, surnames and Christian names alike, of the people of that period. Mr. Lister and Mr. Ogden divide them into three classes—personal place-names, patronymics, and occupative names. According to their table, the most common method of naming the people was from their place of residence. It is evident, from the returns, that there were several folk in the parish who had come thither from far away. There was a John Yrland (Ireland) at Hipperholme; a Janyn de Fraunce at Sowerby; a John Fraunsays at Halifax; at Sowerby there was also a Roger Flemmyng. Eighteen people within the parish had evidently come there from other



CHAPEL FOLD.

English towns, some from places close at hand, like Mirfield, Rochdale, and Birstall; others from places far off, like Berwick and London. Mr. Lister and Mr. Ogden classify 104 patronymics—the largest number occur in Wadsworth, "where the custom of identifying the children by the Christian names of their ancestors has prevailed up to modern times, as in the following instance: 'Bill-o'-Dick's-o'-Bob's-o'-Joans,' that is, William, son of Richard, son of Robert, son of Joan." As to the Christian names, there were 39 varieties in the parish—21 of men, 18 of women. Of these, 8 are of Hebraic origin, 8 of Greek, 7 of Teutonic, 6 of Latin; one is Aramaic. The Old English names, such as Arthur, Alfred, Edmund, are not once found; there was only one Emma. The masculine names were John (there were 133 Johns), William (68), Richard (64), Thomas, Robert, Henry, Adam, Roger, Hugh, Ralph, Nicholas, Simon, Geoffrey, Stephen, Alexander, Janyn, Otes, Julian, Helyas and Alan; the feminine, Joan (20), Alice (16), Margery (10), Magota, Isabella, Agnes, Matilda, Margaret, Cecilia, Elena, Beatrice, Anabel, Constance, Elizabeth, Emma, Katherine, Isolda and Sibil. It is a most extraordinary fact that amongst all these Halifax women of 1379 not one was named Mary.

And it is a curious fact, too, that in all that parish at that time there was not one single innkeeper, nor one butcher, nor one baker; the folk brewed their own ale and baked their own bread, and those who administered the Assize regulations saw to it, too, that both were of good quality. There were numerous artificers—carpenters, smiths, metal-workers, wrights, wainwrights, cartwrights, sawyers, plumbers, nail-makers, slaters, shoemakers: at Warley there was an arrowsmith, and at Hipperholme and Midgley two fledgers, who fixed in the feathers. Two domestic servants are mentioned,

and somebody at Elland, probably Mr. Savile, the chevalier, kept a groom (palfreyman). There was a piper at Elland—Mr. Savile may have also had him in employ—and at Stansfield there were two harpers, and at Rishworth a woman harper. As to the conditions of housing under which all these folk lived, the Poll Tax returns tell little. Doubtless the accommodation was poor and cheerless and the houses small and of wood. There is stone enough in that district, but there is no mention of either mason or quarryman in the records. But everybody had space. Out of the twenty townships which constituted the parish, Halifax was the most densely packed, but each of its ninety inhabitants of 1379 had eleven acres to himself.

III. THE PARISH CHURCH

WHITAKER, writing about Halifax a hundred years ago, remarks that within the hundred and twenty-four square miles surrounding it, there was never a castle nor a monastic house, and that the antiquary who looks through this extensive district for those appearances which most delight him, will be disappointed—a sweeping statement which must often have brought a smile to those who know how very full of archæological interest this neighbourhood is. He belittles, too, the ecclesiastical antiquity of the place. Yet for many centuries Halifax has been able to boast its possession of one of the finest parish churches in England. "Almost the single glory of Halifax," observes Mr. J. E. Morris in his "West Riding of Yorkshire," "is its grand old mother-church, crowned by a tower that for simple dignity is possibly unrivalled in the Riding." True, the situation of the church leaves much to be desired; it stands deep down in the valley, Beacon Hill frowning upon it from one side, the town shelving above it on the other; it is so obscured from the town side that we see nothing of it until one is close upon its precincts, but despite these disadvantages it still remains the chief feature of a town which in recent days has been so much and so intelligently rebuilt, that Mr. Morris calls it "perhaps the handsomest of all the large manufacturing cities of Yorkshire."

And in Whitaker's time, and in Watson's, before him, this parish church of Halifax was just as noble, and as stately, and of such magnificent dimensions as we see it to-day, and had been so for many centuries, as befitted the parent church of the most extensive parish in England.

There is no mention of any church in this district in the Domesday record ; in the whole Manor of Wakefield there appears to have been at that time only two churches, those of Wakefield itself and of Sandal Magna, close by. But by 1090 there must have been others, for somewhere between the years 1091 and 1097, William, second Earl of Warren, to whom the Manor of Wakefield had been granted about 1088, gave to the Cluniac Priory of St. Pancras, at Lewes, in Sussex, the advowsons of several churches in Yorkshire—notably those of Conisborough, Braithwell, Fishlake, Hatfield, Sandal, Wakefield, Dewsbury and Halifax. The date of this gift, which appears to have been a matter of uncertainty to most Halifax chroniclers, can be proved from the names of the witnesses to the charter, of whom three were Walkeline, Bishop of Winchester from 1070–1097 ; Gundulph, Bishop of Rochester, 1077–1108 ; and Ralph, Bishop of Chichester, 1091–1125. According to the " Memoirs of the Earls Warren and Surrey," William, the third Earl, confirmed this grant in a deed witnessed by his brother Ralph and Reginald, a curious ratification of it being made at the same time by severing locks of hair from the heads of the Earl and Reginald in the presence of the Archbishop of Canterbury. There were confirmations of the charter in 1121 by Ralph d'Escures, Archbishop of Canterbury ; in 1221 by Walter Gray, Archbishop of York, and later by Pope Alexander IV. between 1254 and 1261. A copy of Archbishop Gray's confirmation, embodying the terms of the

original Warren donation, is in the Register of Archbishop Corbridge, at York.

Mr. Morris agrees with Whitaker that the oldest substantial portion of the present church is part of the north wall of the north aisle. But how old? "The precise date of the original foundation of the church," says Whitaker, "cannot now be ascertained; neither to which of the Earls Warren the good work is to be attributed. The silence of Domesday forbids us to believe that it existed at that period. Neither is it probable that it was erected while the Lordship of Wakefield remained in the Crown. All the neighbouring churches, not of Saxon origin, were built by the great Norman lords, soon after their accession to the estates severally granted to them. The reign of Henry I. (1100–1135) in particular was a general era of church building in the North, and the probability is that the first church (of Halifax) was erected during that period." Leaving aside the question of the original founders, and preferring to believe with Dr. Jessop that the churches were not built by barons, nor by country gentlemen (who then had no existence) but by the people themselves, we may pass to a consideration of another question—when was Halifax Parish Church, as it now presents itself, really begun and really finished? Most authorities agree that of this first edifice nothing remains; the ancient part of the north aisle is a remnant of the second church. The present appears to have been the third, begun in days when Halifax was beginning to flourish, and when the parish had already been furnished with chapels at Heptonstall and Elland. Now both Wright and Watson, in their accounts of Halifax, refer to an original manuscript, written by one, John Waterhouse of Shibden, sometime Lord of the Manor of Halifax, in which there is an illuminative passage: "In the time of John Waterhouse,

of Halifax, deceased, who died about Candlemas 26 years since, *i.e.* 1540, at his death being near 100 years of age, I trowe 3 years under, and when he was a child, about 6 or 7 years of age, was the Church of Halifax begun to be builded, and he and many more children stood upon the first stone of the steeple [tower]. It was 20 years in building. By this it appeareth that John Waterhouse was born in 1443, and in 1657 [presumably the year in which this portion of the manuscript was written] it is 207 years since the foundation of Halifax Church was laid." This would fix the time of the beginning of the present church as being during the reign of Henry VI. The rebuilding of the nave must have been in progress in 1437, for in that year Henry Savile of Halifax left forty shillings towards this particular object; in 1459 another Savile, John, of Copley, gave twenty shillings towards the erection of the tower. Probably the church was completed some years before the decisive moments of the Reformation, by the addition of the two chapels on the north and south. Of these one was provided for by the will of William Rokeby, Archbishop of Dublin, a former vicar of Halifax (1502); the other was built by Robert Haldesworth, twelfth vicar of Halifax, during the earlier years of his incumbency. Mr. John Lister, in his "Life of Haldesworth," fixes the date of this chapel as before 1535, and says that it was the last structural addition to the church as we see it to-day.

From 1273 until the time of Henry VIII. the presentations to the vicarage of Halifax were made by the Prior and Convent of Lewes by themselves or their assigns. Watson, who gives a list and particulars of the vicars, pre-Reformation and post-Reformation, in the biographical part of his work, thinks that the first vicar, Ingoland Turbard, Turberd, or Turbat, was one

of the Cluniac monks of St. Pancras at Lewes. He was presented January, 1273, inducted May, 1274, and died May 1315. Then followed John, or Aaron de Grydinton, 1315–1321; Thomas de Gaytington, or Getingdon, 1321–1349; and John de Standford, or Stamford, or Stainforth, 1349–1362. Watson says that, in a document which he saw at York, there was a reference to one Richard de Ovenden, said to be instituted to the vicarage of Halifax in October, 1349; he thinks that if there ever was such an institution, it was of very brief duration; if Richard of Ovenden really was vicar for a while, he says, he was the first parish man so presented. But the successor of John de Standford certainly was a parish man—he was one Richard de Heton, of the Hetons of Northowram and was vicar from 1362–1389, when he was succeeded by John Kynge, 1389–1437. Here, in Watson's list, occurs another doubtful entry—that of Thomas Eland, said to have been instituted in 1438. But Thomas Eland was probably the same person as Thomas Wilkinson, an Ovenden man, who was preferred to the living in 1439; he made the great window in the chancel of his parish church, then being rebuilt, and in his will of June 1, 1481, he left his body to be buried near the altar he had served. Then followed Richard Simms, presumably a Halifax man, 1480–1496; Thomas Brent, 1496–1502, and William Rokeby, 1502–1521, a native of Kirk Sandal, near Doncaster (where his heart is buried; his body having been interred in St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin), who in his time was rector of Sandal, vicar of Halifax, Bishop of Meath, a Privy Councillor to Henry VII. and Archbishop of Dublin. According to Watson's reckoning of things, Rokeby was the last vicar preferred under the old system; between 1521 and 1559 there were three preferments of a debatable sort so far as the theological differences of the times are

concerned—those of Dr. John Taylor, Dr. Robert Haldesworth, and John Harrison. Mr. Lister, however, in his "Life of Haldesworth," says that Haldesworth was presented by the Monks of Lewes. The first vicar under the Elizabethan settlement was Christopher Ashburn, instituted in 1559, a zealous Protestant, who offered to find Queen Elizabeth three or four thousand men out of "our poor parish" (his own) when the Northern Rebellion broke out. He was not, however, particularly zealous about parish matters, for he was charged in 1565 with "defacing and selling off much of the housing of the Vicarage," the witnesses thereof being "the whole multitude of people then living within the sayd vicarage." He was succeeded by his son, Francis, and he by a Dr. Ledsham, who was murdered in London in 1598; he by a Dr. John Favour, of whom we shall hear more in connection with the registers, and he by a Dr. Clay, of the family of Clay, of Greetland, of whom some strange things were alleged by one Smith, the particulars of which are in Godolphin's "Repertorium Canonicum." Dr. Clay was charged with reading the Sacred Scriptures in an irreverent and indecent manner; with neglecting to preach; with using the sacred vessels for secular purposes in his own house; with taking money from penitents; and with disgracing his holy office by doing menial work, "having a leathern apron before him." But there was more—"And when he had divers presents sent him, as by some, flesh, by some, fish, and by others ale, he did not spend it in the invitation of his friends and neighbours, or give it to the poor; but sold the flesh to butchers, and the ale to ale-wives." How far these charges were true does not appear; let us hope they were exaggerated. Henceforward the vicars of Halifax seem to have been of unimpeachable character, and if some of them proved restive under such

THE PARISH CHURCH, PORCH AND SUN-DIAL.

matters as the Act of Uniformity, and doubtful about King William III., those of the eighteenth century were certainly models of strict and respectable churchmanship.

When the vicarage of Halifax first fell into the hands of the Cluniacs of Lewes, certain monetary arrangements were made as regards the emoluments of its holder. The vicar was to receive certain portions of the revenue, amounting to fifty marks a year; he was also to have a piece of land on the south side of the church, whereon a vicarage was to be built, together with some other perquisites and privileges. He was to pay his curates at the chapels of Elland and Heptonstall, to provide for the services in these chapels, and in the mother church, to repair the chancels, and bear all the ordinary expenses. In 1275, after a dispute between the vicar and the Prior of Lewes, a composition was entered into, with the approval of Archbishop Walter Giffard, by which the vicar and his successors for ever got the tithes of mills, mortuaries, and calves, paying annually to the Prior and Convent £4 13*s*. In the taxation book of Pope Nicholas IV. for the Province of York, *circa* 1292, the value of the church of Halifax is set down at £93 6*s*. 8*d*.; the vicar's share is stated as being £16. In the *Valor Ecclesiasticus, temp.* Henry VIII., the net value of the living is given as £84 13*s*. 6*d*.; at the time of the Commonwealth, according to the Parliamentary Survey, vol. XVIII., the small tithes and other profits of "this great parish" were worth about £240 a year, and the customary tithe worth £28 and a noble. In 1829 there was passed an Act of Parliament "for extinguishing tithes and payments in lieu of tithes, mortuaries, and Easter offerings, and other vicarial dues and payments within the parish of Halifax"; it made provision for payment by the churchwardens of the twenty-three townships within

the parish of certain annual amounts which should ensure to the Vicar of Halifax " one clear annual stipend or sum of £1409 15*s.* 6*d.* free from all taxes, except the ancient annual payment of £4 13*s.* payable by the vicar to the King's most Excellent Majesty as rector of the parish." This, of course, was the original payment made under the Archbishop Gifford composition of 1275 to the Prior and Convent of Lewes.

Whether the original church of Halifax was built by one or other of the Earls of Warren, or by the Halifax folk, as Dr. Jessopp's theory would incline us to believe, no one will ever know. But we have evidence in the parish books that in the early part of the eighteenth century certain of the parishioners of Halifax were minded to house their vicar in new quarters, and paid for the accomplishment of their desires out of their own pockets. Wright in his book about Halifax, records, in dealing with the inscriptions in the parish church, that on a gravestone near the font appeared this: " Here lieth the Body of Mary, the wife of Samuel Stead, of Halifax, who was buried this 29th of May, 1734, aged 82 years and 6 months. She was the wife of the abovesaid Samuel Stead, Salter, 58 years and 6 months. Also Samuel Stead, Husband to the abovesaid Mary, who departed this Life the 4th Day of December, 1763, aged 80 years, 10 months and seven days." Wright adds that " this Gentleman liv'd to see of his Children Grand-children, and Great Grand-children, 61 in Number." Now, in the parish books there are two entries, evidently made by this Samuel Stead, which have reference to the vicarage of 1712–13.

" *Memorandum.*—That the ould vickeridge house was pulled down July the twelfth day, 1712, and was rebuilded by y^e^ liberall contributions of neighbouring gentlemen, and y^e^ inhabitants of the town of Halliffax,

and y^e^ inhabitants of y^e^ neibouring towns within the parish of Halliffax, the charge of which was disbursed by Samuel Stead, and the house was thacked the 11th December, 1712."

"*Memorandum.*—That upon 21st of December, 1713, Mr. Thomas Burton, the vicker of Halliffax, did with his family goe to dwell in ye new vickeridge house, it being finished; and y^e^ whole charge of re-building it, besides ye ould materials about it, and work given, amounted to about £350, payd by me Samuel Stead."

There is an interesting fact in connection with the older vicarage of Halifax—that which Samuel Stead speaks of as having been pulled down one July day in 1712—in that it was the scene of a remarkable murder. Out of the many vicars of Halifax since the days of Ingoland Turbard, two were murdered by assassins. But the murder of Vicar Ledsham took place in London, and his murderers suffered the penalty of their crime at Tyburn. The murder of Vicar Haldesworth was carried out in his own vicarage, "in the great chamber." It was a tragic end to a most remarkable career, which must be studied separately.

IV. VICAR HALDESWORTH

ROBERT HALDESWORTH, twelfth vicar of Halifax (or, if the institution of Richard de Ovenden really took place and if Thomas Eland was, in reality, Thomas Wilkinson, thirteenth), who retained his hold on the living throughout the disturbed times of Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Queen Mary, was a Halifax man, the son of John Haldesworth, a man of substance and of good churchmanship. Haldesworth himself testifies that "at the time of his death, my good father bequeathed and gave to me in ready money, goods and chattels near upon the value of 1000 marks (£666 13*s.* 4*d.*) to find me at the School of Oxford and beyond the sea." He adds that it was his father's wish that with the surplus and interest he, the son, should found and endow certain scholarships in the University of Oxford; further, John Haldesworth gave Robert "great sums of money" to found a Free School at Halifax, and to build two Chantry Chapels at the Parish Church. Also, his mother, at her death, left him all she had in pursuance of these worthy objects. One of them, at any rate, the vicar carried out—the erection of the chantry on the south side of the church which to this day is known as the Haldesworth Chapel.

Mr. John Lister, who dealt exhaustively with Haldesworth's life in a series of deeply interesting

lectures given to the members of the Halifax Antiquarian Society between 1902 and 1908, does not tell us where Haldesworth got his early schooling. Nor does he say how long he remained at Oxford. But it was apparently in accordance with the express desire of his father that he eventually quitted the University and repaired to Rome, where he seems to have studied canon law and theology to such good purpose that he received the degree of Doctor of Sacred Decrees and Doctor of Theology. At Rome he attracted the attention of the famous Silvestro de Gigli, Bishop of Worcester, ambassador at the Papal Court for Henry VII. and Henry VIII., and it was owing to this wily prelate's influence that in 1507–8 he returned to England as Chancellor of the Diocese of Worcester. Preferment was not slow in coming to him. In 1508 he was given the living of Wolverley; in April, 1509 the Abbot and monks of Gloucester preferred him to the rectory of Buckland, in that county. A few months later, in August of the same year, de Gigli, as Bishop, conferred upon him the rich living of Blockley, in Worcestershire; he held this for a long time after he had been preferred to Halifax; he also for some time enjoyed the benefice of Bishop's Hampton. In the vicarage house of Blockley, formerly a palace of the Bishops of Worcester, Haldesworth had a piece of good luck. Showing his cousin, Allan Hey, certain improvements that he had made, they remarked that he must have been at great cost and charges in building. To whom Haldesworth answered: "Cousin, I may say to you in counsel, I am no lover of this building, for in pulling down here one old wall, I found three hundred pounds in gold and money, and somewhat more . . . I would I had many such buildings in hand!"

The exact date of Haldesworth's institution to the

Vicarage of Halifax has not yet been discovered in the Archæological registers at York; Wright and Watson set it down at 1535, but Mr. Lister concludes that it must have been at least ten years earlier, for in the will of James Lister, of Halifax, made in 1525, Haldesworth, appointed as "supervisor," is referred to as Vicar of Halifax. He came into the parish at the time of a deadly feud, headed on one side by a powerful local magnate, on the other by an equally powerful country gentleman of the neighbourhood. Sir Richard Tempest, of Bowling Hall, was the Steward of the Royal Manor of Wakefield, and so held sway over Northowram, Hipperholme, Brighouse, Rastrick, and other parts. Sir Henry Savile was Steward of the Honor of Pontefract—that part of Halifax parish which was not under Sir Richard Tempest was under him. The two men were at daggers drawn—so the Earl of Surrey said in writing to Cardinal Wolsey about them in 1523—and so, behind them, were their respective factions. The new vicar had to take sides; he threw in his lot with the Savile faction, and thus made life-long enemies. But the first years of his vicariate seem to have been passed in comparative peace. Mindful of his father's pious wishes, he built the chantry on the south side of the church which bears their name. It must have been finished by 1535, for William Palden, of Halifax, clerk, in his will made that year, leaves his body to be buried "in the chapel recently erected by Dr. Haldesworth." He adorned his chapel with painted glass windows, and, says Mr. Lister, "until the so-called restoration in the days of Vicar Pigou, Dr. Haldesworth's armorial bearings of the crow on the ragged tree stump were yet visible, and the first syllable of his name *Haldes* is still to be seen in an upper window of the south aisle of the church, to which window the only remaining fragments

of the gorgeous painted glass which once adorned the fabric have been removed."

Haldesworth appears to have been at all times of a somewhat forceful, if not arrogant and boastful character, and though he stood aside in the fierce quarrel which raged in 1528–36 between the Prior and convent of Lewes and the Halifax tithe-payers, he became an object of suspicion when Thomas Cromwell, as Vicar-General to Henry VIII., introduced his new regime. In "Letters and Papers: *temp.* Henry VIII." there is a letter from Christopher Jenny, one of Cromwell's numerous informers, in which, after saying that Dr. Haldesworth, Vicar of Halifax, is accused of treason, and that he has bound him over to appear before Cromwell and the Lord Chancellor next term, he adds that the said vicar is noted to be "a man of great substance" who deceived the king very much at the time of the valuation of benefices. In Cromwell's "Remembrances," in the British Museum, there is an entry "*Item.*—To speak to the king concerning sending for the Vicar of Halifax." Haldesworth was sent for, and on arrival in London, was arrested by a Sergeant of Law, his enemy, Sir Richard Tempest, having pointed out his lodging. But his "substance" enabled him to clear himself: there is a further entry in the Vicar-General's "Remembrances" which is significant: "*Item.*—To take an end with the Vicar of Halifax for his fine." Haldesworth paid his fine, got the King's free pardon under the broad seal, and went back to Halifax, to boast openly that the whole business had not cost him half a year's income. But he had not long been back when his enemies haled him before the Justices of Assize at York; his cousin Hey, "uneasy in conscience," had reported the matter of the finding of £300 at Blockley, which, of course, was treasure

trove. Haldesworth seems to have got out of this with success; probably, as Mr. Lister suggests, he pleaded his general pardon. Moreover, he succeeded in obtaining injunctions from the Courts against Sir Richard Tempest and his faction, by which they were bound to keep the peace under a penalty of £500.

The Tempest faction, however, was not only powerful, ubt exceeding bitter against Haldesworth, and in 1535 it got up a formal Bill of Complaint against the vicar, in which all manner of grievances were set forth. One clause is interesting as giving some idea of the number of people in the parish at that time. Dr. Haldesworth, allege the complainants, "hathe not preched ne caused to be preched to hys paryschoners at Halyfaxe, x. thousand people or mo, the word of God bott only two tymes at the moste, these vj yeires last paste." Incidentally they say of him that "a more ungratyouse and malycyouse man was never chrystened." Eighty-two signatures were appended to this Complaint; they were nearly all those of friends, tenants, and servants of Sir Richard Tempest. But before long Haldesworth himself had reason to file a complaint against those who complained of him. In March, 1536, certain adherents of the Tempest family, chief amongst them being John Lacey, Tempest's son-in-law, and Henry Batt, his servant, broke into his Vicarage, put the vicar in "fear and jeopardy of his life," took from him his purse, "then hanging at his girdle," and carried away his valuables, goods and chattels. Attached to his complaint is a list of the stolen articles—it shows that Haldesworth was indeed "a man of substance." He possessed a great quantity of gold and silver plate; cups, goblets, pots, whole or parcel gilt, mazers, cloth of gold, velvet, fine holland. They also took from him "divers and sundry evidences of lands, deeds, writings, specialities,

INTERIOR OF THE PARISH CHURCH.

letters patent, obligations with other bills and writings of great charges." "Doubtless," remarks Mr. Lister, "the outrage was committed under some semblance of manorial law, as indicated by the circumstance that the band of aggressors was led by John Lacey, the Bailiff of Halifax, and that several of the party were officials of the Manor Court."

Haldesworth, in fact, was at this time in very troublous condition. In this year he was again before the Justices of Assize at York, "accused and examined of treason." He cleared himself of that and went home to Halifax, determined on proceeding thence to London, probably to make matters right at head-quarters. Now Sir Henry Savile had money of his in safe keeping; he delivered it to him—£884 or else £896 in gold. What to do with it? He hit on the notion of hiding it "under a stair beside my parlour, going up to a chamber." When he was examined by the Duke of Norfolk in 1537, Haldesworth told the exact details. "The said money," he testified (it had come, with additions, to the sum of £1025) "I did put into a little brass pot, and put a little box and writing therein containing the true sum of the gold, and set it in the earth, so that the brims of the pot were even near with the earth of the outside, and a little mould or dust and small chips thereupon, and also other great chips." This done, he set off to London. He seems to have remained in London for some time, though there is mention of a temporary return to Halifax in the summer of 1536. But in October of that year, John Lacey and his Tempest band again raided the Vicarage in Haldesworth's absence, and this time they sacked it from top to bottom. The inventory contained in the Bill of Complaint shows that the vicar was well furnished in the things and comforts of this life. Silver plate and

coin, napery, bedding, books, papers, all the furniture of hall, parlour, chambers, kitchens, pantry, brewhouse, buttery, store of cloth, velvet, silk, the fittings of the private chapel, the household stores of groceries, were such as could only have been got together by a wealthy man. "If this inventory," remarks Mr. Lister, "could be taken as any guide to us in picturing the interior of the houses of our substantial local gentry and yeomanry, then we should have indeed to form a high opinion of the advanced state of elegance and luxury to which they had attained. But the Lord Vicar of Halifax—as he was styled by his parishioners—had a lordly fortune."

The "Lord Vicar" returned from London in the middle of Lent next year to find his Vicarage despoiled, and all his goods carried away to John Lacey's house at Cromwell Bottom. Moreover, the marauders had found his pot of gold, under the stair, and had made off with its contents. So he journeyed to York, where the Duke of Norfolk was in power as the King's Lieutenant "to have his Grace's favour that such process as I had obtained from the King's Grace most Honourable Council, might be served against such persons as had unlawfully robbed and spoiled my Vicarage." The Duke told him that he had power to cause "restitution of spoil," but Haldesworth seems to have preferred to trust to the ordinary process of law. He returned to Halifax on Low Sunday, and then his curate, Sir Alexander Emmett, put into his hands £876 8*s.* 9*d.*, part of the £1025; it had been delivered to him under the seal of confession. But now Haldesworth got into more trouble. The Duke of Norfolk virtually arrested him, claiming that the hidden money was "treasure trove," and eventually he was forced to pay most of it over to the crown. Norfolk's opinion of Haldesworth is seen in an extract from a letter which the Duke wrote to

Cromwell, July 30th, 1537. "I think," he writes, "God would have him (Haldesworth) punished, for he doth not only live covetously, and after the rate of £40 of promotions, where he may dispend £200 a year; but, also, is a very troublesome and busy man among his neighbours, and hath at this time of the 'sizes two *Nisi Prius* (causes) against others, and one against him." Yet, in this letter, Norfolk tells Cromwell that he believes the money really belonged to Haldesworth, and gives his reasons, but, he adds, significantly, that he doubts not the Escheator will find it to be treasure trove, *if His Highness* (the king) *will so command*.

Haldesworth, indeed, contributed not a little to the demands which were always being made on behalf of Henry VIII. In the list of sums of money received by Thomas Johnson and Leonard Beckwith, "of the King's loving subjects within his said County of York," in 1642, he is set down as paying £133 6*s*. 8*d*. In another list, of August, in the same year, his name appears as a contributory of 200 marks—the same sum. He paid twenty shillings under the subsidy of June, 1545. But he had a private estate, as well as the livings of Halifax, Blockley, and Bishop's Hampton. His private estate appears to have been considerable. The Wakefield Court Rolls of 1542 record that he had copyhold land at Greenway Clough, near Briarscholes, in Northowram, which he had settled on himself for life ten years previously; in 1542 he divested himself of this life-interest and gave the property absolutely to his nephew, John Gibson. In 1546 he bought from Bartholomew Methley, gentleman, four messuages, ten acres of land, six acres of meadow, ten acres of pasture, and one hundred acres of moorland situate in the Pontefract district, at Thorp, Kirk Smeaton, Stapleton, and Darrington, and according to his Post Mortem Inquisition

he held it at the time of his death. The manner of his death, indeed, seems to have arisen out of his riches. Towards the end of his life he had many financial adventures and troubles, notably with one William Cade, who was suing him for a debt of £100 in the Common Pleas some time during Queen Mary's reign, but in 1556 he was still, according to Mr. Lister, "a very wealthy man," and "much envied." And he was naturally an object of covetousness to the evil-disposed of his parish, and on the night of Saturday, May 8, 1556, when he sat alone in "the great chamber" of his Vicarage, he was broken in upon by two men who brutally murdered him, and carried off certain silver bowls, a black velvet girdle, studded with silver, a silver basin, three silver goblets, two harnessed with silver, with more silver of the value of twenty pounds, and twenty pounds in money. The identity of his murderers was not known for a long time, but they seem to have been William Haworth of Halifax, cutler, and John Swift, of Brighouse, clothier. As for their victim, he was buried on Monday, May 10th, with due ceremonies of dirge and requiem, "under the great tombstone" in his own chantry chapel. There is no memorial of him in the church other than his chapel and the fragments in the dormer window of the south aisle, and *Robertus Holdesworth Doctor vicarius de Halifax Supulthes est Xo eiusdem* is all that is recorded of him in the parish register.

V. PARISH RECORDS

BOUND up with the Chartulary of Lewes, now preserved at the British Museum, there is a Latin manuscript wherein is a rental of Halifax, made and renewed by the tenants there, on the 17th day of December in the eighteenth year of the reign of King Henry the Sixth—1439—John Vyncent being at that time Proctor for the Prior and monks of St. Pancras, Lewes, to whom the manor belonged. From it one may learn a good deal about the Halifax folk of that time, who they were, what they paid in rent, and what they were doing for a livelihood. Obviously, the population had increased considerably since the time of the Lay Subsidy of 1379. There are close upon a hundred separate entries as regards the letting of the lands, though several lands and tenements are let to the same holder. The amounts paid for the various lettings vary considerably. Laurence Newall holds a fulling mill and pays a yearly rent of 11*s*. Henry Rishworth holds one cottage; his yearly rent is a halfpenny. Richard Longbottom's holding of a messuage and its adjacent garden costs him threepence-farthing a year; for a certain close in Elland, called Kirkcroft, Thomas Bury pays a yearly rent of 3*s*. William Lister pays a halfpenny for a messuage, twopence for one rood of land, twopence for a fulling mill, and a halfpenny for a

pyghill. For a parcel of land taken from the waste, with the shop thereon, at the west end of the churchyard, Robert Oates pays a penny a year; for the same amount Richard Lister gets five doles and a half of meadow land in Blakelegynge. Rents of a penny, twopence, fourpence seem to be the rule; it is only a few people who pay more. Richard Pike pays 2*s.* 3½*d.*; William Oates, 4*s.*; John Broadley, 2*s.* 9¼*d.*; Thomas Wilkinson, 5*s.* 3*d.*—these are evidently the superior and principal tenants. Altogether it is no great amount that the manor produces for its cloistered' owners at far-off Lewes in Sussex.

It will be observed that the surnames have become definite since the Poll Tax of 1379. True there is still a Matilda Alcoke-Doghtyr, one of the five daughters and co-heiresses of Alexander Alcock, of the Hangingroyd in Northowram, but most of the folk have got the surnames which are common enough in the Halifax of modern times—Listers, Milners, Walkers, Oates, or Otes, Potters, Bairstows, Broadleys, Priestleys, Websters, Hansons, Greenwoods, Wilkinsons—there is only one name that is locally unfamiliar, that of Richard Genour, who seems to have departed by death or removal in the year of 1439, since Robert Hall, John Potter, and Christiana Bere now hold his former lands and tenements between them, and pay 2*s.* 3½*d.* a year for their use. But we may learn a great deal of who these people or some of them actually were from the *Notes of Identification*, which Mr. Lister and Mr. Ogden have appended to their reprint of this Rental in the first volume of the Halifax Antiquarian Society's Record Series. There were the Pecks, a family which had lived in the district for a long time; there was a Peck at Hipperholme in 1324. They are thought to have been *auri-fabri*—workers in gold and silver. One of them, Richard,

who was buried in the choir of the parish church, left a quantity of silver cups, pyxes, bowls, and spoons to various folk; he also left 6*s.* 8*d.* each to the four orders of friars, and a like amount to the Trinitarians of Knaresborough. These Pecks became people of great consequence, and their lineal descendants are living to-day. Then there were the Milners, who, as their name indicates, were tenants of the manorial corn-mill; a seal of theirs, of the year 1539, bears two mill-rinds interlocked; they, too, flourished greatly in Halifax for many generations. And at this time there was at Copley a Savile, John, a scion of the great family. He left 20*d.* to the high altar of Halifax parish church "for tithes forgotten"; 20*s.* for the bell-tower; 6*s.* 8*d.* to the bells, and 5*s.* to the poor. Of Listers there were many; Richard Lister was the principal contributory, in Halifax, to the rent roll of the Prior and Convent of Lewes; he had a great many holdings, for which he paid sums varying from a penny to 3*s.* 3½*d.*, and he had tenants under him. He was a man of great importance and substance, and the ancestor of the Listers of Halifax, Shibden, Southowram, Ovenden, Horton, Linton, Bawtry, and Hull. And at this time, too, there was land held in the parish, at Holdsworth, in Ovenden, at a yearly rent of fourpence, by Sir Thomas Savile, Knight, of Thornhill, whose will, dated 1449, gives one a very good idea of how great country squires left some of their money in the fifteenth century. He gave to the parish church of Thornhill one suit of vestments for priest, deacon, and sub-deacon; they were of yellow cloth, and there was a cope to match them. To the Friars of Pontefract he bequeathed 13*s.* 4*d.*; to the Friars of Tickhill 6*s.* 8*d.*; to the Carmelites at Doncaster 6*s.* 8*d.*; to the Trinitarians of Knaresborough 3*s.* 4*d.*, and some land, and 3*s.* 4*d.*, to the Recluse of Beeston. One would

like to know who the Recluse of Beeston was, and all about him. But there were many hermits in Yorkshire in those days.

Hard-headed as the Halifax folk no doubt were in the matter of getting and keeping money, the pious founder was much in evidence amongst them in the later middle age. Attached to the parish church were several chantries—all but one were founded in perpetuity. The one that was founded for a term of years was that established by John Lacy, of Cromwell Bottom, in 1474, "for the exhibition [maintenance] of a priest in the church of Halifax, to celebrate for my soul, the souls of my wives, and for the souls of those whose goods I have, justly or unjustly, had, and for the souls of all the faithful departed, for ten years, and longer if my goods should suffice." This foundation, then, had long come to an end before the Commissions of Enquiry of 1546 and 1548. In 1534 Vicar Haldesworth, making a return to the Commissioners for the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, set down four chantries as appertaining to his parish church; these were still in existence in 1546. The origin of the first of these, Hunter's, was not ascertainable, and never has been; it had been in existence for some thirty or forty years; it had been served by three priests since its foundation; its incumbent in 1546 was one John Alterton, "A student in the University of Cambridge," and its nett value, derived from lands in Halifax and Skircoat, was £4 3*s.* 3*d.* a year, from which was deducted twopence for ringing a knell on the anniversary of the founder's death. The Wilby Chantry, or Chantry of the Holy Trinity, founded by John Wilby in 1494, provided six marks a year for a chaplain who was not only to say mass daily at the altar of the Holy Trinity in Halifax parish church, but to say vespers and compline as well. The founder left

explicit instructions as to what the chaplain should do. "I will and ordain that the same chaplain shall daily at his mass, at the *Lavabo*, pray for me in form following:—'Ye shall pray for the soul of John Wilby, founder of this chantry and service, and for the souls of his two wives, his children, his father, and his mothers' soules,' and thereupon say the *De Profundis* to the end." At the time of the Enquiry of 1546 the chaplain was Richard Northend, who had not been in residence "sithence Candlemas last past." As in the case of Hunter's Chantry, this Wilby foundation possessed no goods and no plate.

The Chantry of Nicholas Frith, according to the report of the Commissioners of 1546, was founded by Alice, widow of Nicholas, in June, 1515, Nicholas himself having died some twenty years previously. In his will, dated May 26, 1494, he left 20*s.* "to the use of Halifax Church, which 20*s.* was given me by Brian Balne, late parish chaplain of Halifax, as may seem best to my friends to spend for the health of my soul." He left his wife a third of his estate, real and personal, and "I will," he adds, "that William, my son, shall have an exhibition at school for three years, so that he have yearly four marks in the name of his portion." But as regards the chantry, the Commissioners of 1546 reported that there had been no chaplain for "the space of seven years past," one Sir Edmund Akroyd, a priest, having "entered into the lands and converted the same to his own use"; the value of the lands, situate at Bubwith and Foggathorpe, in the East Riding, appears to have been £3 6*s.* 8*d.* a year. There is no mention of any plate attaching to this chantry, nor was any found to belong to the next one—the Chantry of St. Saviour, otherwise known as the "Service at the Rood Altar." This had been established by the Halifax parishioners

and endowed with the proceeds of various copyhold lands at Sowerby, Warley, Hipperholme, Halifax, and Shibden. Its chaplain in 1546 was John Waterhouse; when the Commissioners made their second enquiry, in 1548, it was reported that his sole means of subsistence were in the said chantry, and that the value of the freehold land attaching to it was 5*s.* a year, and of the copyhold £3 7*s.* 0*d.*, and that in each case there was an outgoing of 4*s.* yearly.

These were the chantries of which Dr. Haldesworth made a return in 1534. But there were others. There was the service of the Morrow Mass, founded by the inhabitants of Halifax "to the intent to have mass daily said at V of the clock in the morning for all servants and labourers in the said town." The annual income was £3 1*s.* 10*d.* There was no plate. Nor did the chantry of St. George, also founded by the parishioners, and endowed with the annual sum of £1 10*s.* 2*d.*, possess any. The only Halifax chantry which possessed any plate when the Commission held their enquiries was that founded by William Brigg in 1524, though—as William himself lived until 1534—it did not come into being until after the returns for the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* had been made. This Brigg, according to Mr. E. W. Crossley, is described in the Act Book at York as *dives valde*—exceeding rich. He endowed his chantry with the proceeds of lands on the south part of the highway "leading from the common called Sowerby Moor"; the annual salary to be paid to the chaplain was fixed at £4 13*s.* 4*d.* William Brigg was left 10*s.* wherewith to buy two candlesticks for the altar; these, and the chalice and paten, and "the other things necessary," were in existence, and the service was being duly performed, in 1546. The Commissioners of 1548 had the plate weighed. There was close upon twelve ounces

of it, parcel gilt. Like nearly all the rest of the pre-Reformation plate of Yorkshire, it, of course, disappeared into the Royal treasury.

One would have thought that with all these examples of piety before them the Halifax folk of succeeding generations would walk in the paths of peace, righteousness, and sobriety. Possibly the disturbing times of the Reformation had something to do with it, but though Vicar Ashburn declared his readiness to take three or four thousand stout Protestants into the field in support of Queen Elizabeth, an immediate successor of his, Dr. Favour, who held the living of Halifax from 1593 to 1623, found his people, for the most part, anything but well-behaved—with some exceptions. He was in the habit of appending remarks of his own to his records in the registers; they make very interesting reading, especially when one remembers that they are suffixed to his entries of deaths :—

" 1597. Junii 17°. Isabel vid. Richardi Com'ons. This Richard Commons was an Irishman, by occupation a goldsmith, a common drunkard, and a blasphemer of God's holy name. When he had spent all he could make, he set fyre to straw in the lower rooms of his house, and hanged himself in the middest. Thus desperately he died. But by God's merciful providence, the straw took not fyre, and so both house and the towne were preserved w^h^ he proposed to burn.

" 1600. Maii 30°. Richard Whitaker. Skir. Vir valde pius et religiosus.

Augusti 28°. John Longbotha. North. Vir vere pius et religiosus quīque libras scholae grāmat. Testamēto legavit, alia opera prestitit.

Decēb. 1°. John Pillinge, a most wicked and incorrigible drunkard, died miserably in want.

Januarii 19°. Gregory Mich. Pauldē, an arrāt hypochrittical roge.

" 1602. Junii 26°. Sara (daughter of) John Fearensyde . . . a most damnable wicked queane.

Februarii 2°. John Longbotha. Soar. This was a co'mō drūkard, worked in y^e^ morninge, spēt in ye afternoone in drinkinge, and died seddēly ere night.

Martii 12°. Henry Magson, Ovend. A co'mō drūkard, brake his neck, beinge drūke in the nyght at a taverne stayrs.

" 1607. Jan. 12°. Brian Crowther, Hall. Legavit scholae gram'at, vicar, de Halifax viginti libras et pauperibus ejusdem villae decē libras an'ui redditus ex dominio sive manerio de A . . . in comitatu Eborū in perpetuū. This Brian Crowther, besydes that xxx*ll* annuitye given to ye schole and poor of Halifax, he gave x*ll* in present money to be distributed to the poor immediately after his death, moreover xxxiij*ll*. to those that presently were or had been his servants, divers good sums to his poore kinsfolk, xx*s*. a-year to those that wrought his clothes, and to some of their children iij*s*. and iiij*d*. a-year.

" 1609. Norēbr. 17°. Giles Cowhearde, Skire, and 8° John Parkinson, Hal. were com'ō drūkards, who mistakinge ye preachge yt denounced God's judgment agaynst wilful obsitinat sinners, sware greivous oathes that they came to the church to be blessed, and not to

be cursed, and therefore would never come to the church agayne. This they blasphemed the 5th of February and both fell presently sick, and never came to the church but to be buryed.

" 1614. Jan. 24°. Antony Maud, Sower. Was a pitiouse, blaspheming, incorrigible, drunken rogue. Died drunke in a drift of ye great snow, ye 23 of Jan.

Feb. 8°. Jam's Robinson, Hal. A very religious, zealouse honest old man; not able to read, yet very ready in the Scriptures, with prompt use and application as I have heard any without learning."

It is comforting to hear of James Robinson; one feels that despite Dr. Favour's discouraging entries there were still some righteous left in the city. But one may learn a good deal from his records—amongst other things that since 1379, when it had no such thing throughout its vast area, Halifax, by the time of James I., had become possessed of many taverns.

VI. THE GIBBET LAW

WATSON, in his *History of Halifax*, quotes a document written by John Waterhouse, of Shibden, Lord of the Manor of Halifax, in 1566, wherein the writer says: "Note, there is in Halifax this yeare 1566, of householders that keepes fires and answers Mr. Vicar in his fermours of dutyes as householders 20 and six score, and noe more (as I am crediblye enformed) and in the time of John Waterhouse, deceased [his ancester] who dyed at Candlemas 26 years agoe, att his death beinge very neare 100 yeares of age (I trow three years under) and when he was but a child there were but in Halifax in all 13 houses." Reckoning five persons to a family, this shows that during the hundred years between 1460 and 1560 the population of the town increased by over two thousand. This was doubtless due to the development of the woollen trade, which, according to Wright, was brought into the district from Ripon, though other local historians say that it was introduced from Devonshire. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries this trade grew to be of such importance that its rights and privileges were jealously guarded, and out of this guarding doubtless sprang the Gibbet Law, the like of which was never known in any other place or district in England. For here the folk for some three centuries enjoyed the

privilege of taking the law into their own hands and executed summary justice upon thieves in a fashion which seems surprising to us of these times. It was a peculiarly local custom—"none suffered this Noble Death," observes an old writer, "but such Criminals as were apprehended and convicted within the Forest of Hardwick," a district of valley and moorland, bounded by the parish of Bradford on the north, and by the river Calder on the south, and comprising within itself some eighteen or twenty townships, of which Halifax had come to be the centre. When the practice of beheading stealers of cloth in this Liberty really began it is difficult to make out. Wright, improving, as he says, upon Midgley's account of it, gives the following particulars:—

"The ancient Customary Law of the Forest of Hardwick was, That if a Felon be taken within the Liberty with goods stolen out, and within the Liberty or Precincts of the said Forest, either *Handhabend* (having the goods in hand), *Backberand* (carrying them), or *Confessand* (having confessed to their purloining) to the value of Thirteen Pence-Halfpenny, he shall, after Three Market Days, or Meeting Days, within the Town of Halifax, next after such his Apprehension, and being Condemn'd, be taken to the Gibbet, and there have his Head cut off from his Body. Immediately after the Apprehension, the Felon is brought to the Lord's Bailiff in Halifax, who by virtue of the Authority granted unto him by the Lord of the Manor of Wakefield, under the particular Seal appertaining to that Manor, keeps a common Jail in the said Town, and therein detains the Prisoner till his Tryal. In order whereunto, the Bailiff, at the Complaint to the Prosecutors writes out his Summons to the Constables of Four several Towns within the said Precincts, to require four Freeholders

of each Town, as Members of the said Forest, to appear before him at a certain Day, that then and there they may make a Jury to examine such Matters of Fact, as shall be alledg'd and brought before them . . . and if upon Examination they find, that the Felon is not only guilty of stealing the goods then laid or being within their view, but that the said Goods are of the Value of Thirteen Pence Half-penny or more, then is the Felon adjudg'd by the said jury to be beheaded, according to ancient Custom. But if upon examination, the Criminal is not found guilty of the Felony, or if he be, and the things stol'n amount not to the value of thirteen Pence half-penny, he is acquitted and set at Liberty, paying his Fees.

"After the Felon had been found guilty, and declar'd so by the jury, he was not put to Death instantly, but confin'd in Prison for about a Week; not only that he may have Time to prepare for his latter End, but also to expose him openly to the World. For there being one general Market Day in the Week, and two other Days of more than Common Stirrings, the Felow was on every one of those Days set in the public Stocks, with the Goods he had stol'n on his Back, if he cou'd carry them, but if not, they were plac'd before his Eyes, that all Passengers might see them. And this was done in Terror to others, that they might take Warning by his wicked Deeds, never to commit the like. After he had been thus handled for about a week, he was brought by the Lord's Bailiff to the Place of Execution, the Scaffold now standing at this Day. There was a Peculiar Engine fram'd for the Purpose, the Figure whereof may be seen in Bishop Gibson's Camden's *Britannia*. In this Engine the Ax (which is yet to be seen at the Bailiff's House) was drawn up by a Pulley, and fastened with a Pin to the side of the Scaffold. If it were an Horse or

Ox, or any other Creature that was stol'n, it was brought away to the Gibbett, and fasten'd to the Cord by a Pin that stay'd the Block, so that when the Time of Execution came (which was known by the Jurors holding up one of their Fingers) the Bailiff or his servant whipping the Beast, the Pin was pluckt out and Execution done; but if it was not done by a Beast, the Bailiff, or his Servant, cuts the Rope. 'Tis suppos'd that this Punishment has been the Cause of the Beggars putting this Town into their Litany: *From Hell, Hull, and Halifax—Deliver Us.* The first of these they may be thought to fear least, because of their wicked lives; Hull they pray against because [there] they meet with Correction, the best Charity; as also they do at Halifax, where Theft, which they use so much, meets with so quick a Punishment."

There were various ceremonies held in connection with these summary executions. "At every execution of a Felon," says the old Law book, "the Minister attended him on the Scaffold, while the 4th Psalm was play'd around it on the Bagpipes; after which the Minister pray'd with him a while, till he underwent his Fatal Stroke." Watson gives some quaint and interesting particulars: "If the felon, after his apprehension, or in his going to execution, happen to make his escape out of the Forest of Hardwick (which Liberty, on the east end of the town, does not extend above the breadth of a small river; on the north, about six hundred paces, but on the west about ten miles) he could not be brought back to be executed; but if ever he returned into it again, and was taken, he was sure to suffer; as was the case of one Lacy, who, after his escape, lived seven years out of the Liberty, but returning back, was beheaded on his former verdict, in the year 1623. This man was not so wise as one Dinnis, who, having been condemned

to die, escaped out of the Liberty on the day destined for his execution, and never returned thither again; meeting several people, they asked him if Dinnis was not to be beheaded that day? his answer was, 'I trow not'; which having some humour in it, became a proverbial saying amongst the inhabitants, who, to this day, use the expression, 'I trow not, quoth Dinnis." Watson also quotes the description of the gibbet given by Harrison, in his survey of England (1587), who appears to have seen it. It stood "a little way out of town," in the place still called Gibbet Lane; there was a square platform of earth, walled about, and ascended by a flight of stone steps; on this platform stood two stout uprights of timber, five yards in height, joined at the top by a transverse beam, beneath which was a heavy, square block of wood, having a sharp wide axe attached to it; this block rose up and down in grooves cut in the uprights; the weight of this axe was seven pounds twelve ounces; its length ten and a half inches. Harrison also says that whenever an execution took place, "every man present took hold of the rope, or put forth his arm as near it as he could, in token that he was willing to see true justice executed," and that the pin which held up the block was pulled out in this manner. John Taylor, in his book *News from Hell, Hull, and Halifax,* says (very questionably) that the rope was cut, and that no man might cut it but the owner of the stolen goods. If he performed this office, his goods were restored to him; if he refused it, he lost his goods, the goods were given to the poor, and the felon was set free.

Watson devoted himself to a somewhat exhaustive enquiry into the origin of this custom, and thinks it began at the time when the Earls Warren were Lords of the Manor of Wakefield, "for in the reign of King

Edward I. at the pleas of assize and jurats at the borough of Scarborough, John, Earl of Warren and Surrey, said that he claimed gallows at Conisborough and Wakefield, and the power of doing what belonged to a gallows—in all his lands and fees." Watson rejects the theory that the custom was peculiar to the Forest of Hardwick; Halifax, he says, "seems not to have stood in a forest"; he also points out that decapitation for such offences as theft was practised in other places, as at Winchester and Chester. Some people have thought that the Gibbet of Halifax was but a reproduction of the Maiden of Edinburgh; but there is little doubt that the Edinburgh guillotine was copied from that of Halifax. As to the claims of the *jus furcae* in their Manor of Wakefield by the Earls Warren, Whitaker thinks that "the custom [of beheading thieves] did not commence here [at Halifax] till a later period, perhaps not till the general introduction of the woollen manufactory rendered a special protection necessary for that species of property." Having commenced, however, it was certainly carried out with strict observance. How many felons were gibbetted before the parish registers began to be kept it is impossible to ascertain, but between 1542 and 1650 no fewer than forty-nine executions took place at Halifax under the Gibbet Law. The names and dates are given in the parish registers—which were kept at Halifax from the time of the first ordering, 1538; sometimes *decollatus* is appended to the name; sometimes *capite truncatus*; sometimes a few Latin words indicating the moral turpitude of the criminal. There was one execution in 1542; one in 1544; two in 1545; two in 1568; four in 1572; two in 1574; two in 1576; two in 1578; one in 1580; one in 1581; one in 1582; one in 1585; one in 1586; two in 1587; one in 1558; one in 1589; two in 1591; one in 1602; one in

1610; one in 1611; three in 1623; two in 1624; two in 1627; two in 1629; two in 1630; two in 1632; one in 1636; one in 1641; and two (the last) in 1650. Out of these forty-nine criminals, five were women.

The last trial and execution at Halifax under the Gibbet Law took place in the spring of 1650. Abraham Wilkinson, John Wilkinson, and Anthony Mitchell were charged with stealing first, sixteen yards of russet coloured kersey from Samuel Colbeck, of Warley; second, a black colt, belonging to John Curforth, of Durker, near Sandal, and a grey colt, the property of Paul Johnson, of the same place; and third, six yards of cinnamon coloured kersey and eight yards of white, friezed for blankets, belonging to John Fielden, of Stansfield. The three men were duly apprehended within the Manor of Wakefield, and brought before a jury of sixteen "substantial inhabitants," four from Halifax, four from Warley, four from Sowerby, and four from Skircoat. There is some confusion in the various accounts as between Abraham and John, of the two Wilkinsons, but it would appear that one of them certainly turned what we should nowadays call King's evidence; the result of the enquiry appears in the "determinate sentence" of the jury: "The prisoners, that is to say John Wilkinson [or Abraham] and Anthony Mitchell, being apprehended within the Liberty of Halifax, and brought before us, with nine yards of cloth as said, and the two colts above-mentioned; which cloth we apprised to Nine Shillings, and the Black Colt to Forty-eight shillings, and the Grey Colt to Three Pounds: all which aforesaid being Feloniously taken from the aforesaid Persons, and found with the said Prisoners: by the Ancient Custom and Liberty of Halifax, whereof the Memory of Man is not to the contrary, the said Abraham [? John] Wilkinson and Anthony

Mitchell are to suffer Death, by having their Heads severed and cut off from their Bodies at Halifax Gibbet, unto which Verdict we Subscribe our Names, the thirtieth of April one thousand, six hundred and fifty." Here follow the signatures of the sixteen jurymen. In this case the sentence seems to have been immediately followed by execution—the entry in the parish register, at any rate, says, " John Wilkinson, Anthony Mitchell, Sowerby, *decollati*, April 30, 1650." If Fuller is to be believed, there never was any time allowed between sentence and execution. At Halifax, he says, " thieves, taken in the act of stealing cloth, are instantly beheaded with an engine, without any further legal proceedings."

VII. THE CIVIL WAR

WHEN the final dissensions broke out between Charles I. and the Parliament over the much vexed question of the Lords-Lieutenant and the Militia Bill, Yorkshire very soon became the chief theatre of events and operations. After Charles's stormy interview with the Committee of both Houses at Newmarket, early in March, 1642, he went northward, and arrived in York on March 18th, taking up his residence at the house of Sir Arthur Ingram, then Lord of the Manor of Halifax. His eldest son was with him; his second son, James, joined him a few weeks later and had the title of Duke of York conferred upon him; previously the Lord Keeper had arrived, bringing with him the Great Seal: with him came the Chancellor of the Exchequer, but, remarks Raine, "without his money." There were great doings in York. The King failed to get the law courts removed there, but he set up the royal printing press in St. William's College, with one Robert Barker at its head, and he held a grand festival of the Knights of the Garter in the Chapter House of the Minster, whereat the newly-created Duke of York was enrolled as a Knight-Companion of the Order. Then followed the fruitless journey to Hull, where Sir John Hotham stoutly refused to admit the King and his entourage. Charles went back to York

in high dudgeon—to receive some comfort by the accession of gentry to his colours: "for some time there was a continuous stream of noblemen and gentlemen making their way northwards." The King, who well knew the importance of having Yorkshire and its sturdy-minded folk on his side, was anxious to speak to the Yorkshire people in person, and on June 3rd he held a great open-air meeting on Heworth Moor and delivered a speech which, because of the vast concourse, few could hear, after which he rode in and out amongst the concourse by way of making personal acquaintance. "The accounts of his reception," says Markham in his *Life of the Great Lord Fairfax*, "are very conflicting. He himself declared that it was the most cheerful concourse of people that was ever beheld of one country. But Sir Henry Slingsby, himself a staunch Royalist, though a lover of truth, says that he heard nothing else but a confused murmuring and noise."

When Charles set up his standard at Nottingham on August 23rd, Yorkshiremen, like the men of most of the other principal English counties, found themselves divided in opinion. There was what we may call a roughly drawn dividing line. The nobility, the country gentlemen, and their dependants were for the King; the business men of the towns were for the Parliament. But here and there men of the higher ranks were found amongst the Parliamentarians, as in the case of the Fairfaxes, Hothams, Challoners, and Cholmleys of Yorkshire; here and there a purely commercial community sided with Charles. Sides were chiefly taken through instinct and prejudice, the real perplexity was only found amongst the educated folk. "Many," observes Markham, "desired to take the side which clearly had the law with it; but nothing could be more certain than that no law was ever made which sanctioned

a civil war, and that strictly speaking, both sides must be acting illegally. Selden, who was the greatest lawyer of his time, most positively asserted the illegality of the proceedings, both of the King and the Parliament." Things had gone too far, however, for legal niceties: it was necessary for men to declare for King or Commons —probably, in ninety cases out of a hundred, those who became Cavalier or Roundhead did so out of personal inclination and knew next to nothing of the rights of the matter.

Taking them as a whole, the towns of the West Riding, then steadily growing in population, importance, and wealth, were on the side of the Parliament. Clarendon, referring to the strength of the Parliamentary cause in the North at the time of the outbreak of hostilities in 1642, says: "Leeds, Halifax, and Bradford, three very populous and rich towns, which, depending wholly upon clothiers, too much maligned the gentry, were wholly at their (the Parliament's) disposal." Drake, the author of *Eboracum*, refers to Sheffield, Wakefield, Leeds, Bradford, and Halifax, and several other Yorkshire towns of less consequence, as being "garrisoned against the King," and remarks that by the valour and conduct of the Lord General (Newcastle) they were all reduced to his Majesty's subjection within the space of six weeks, but, by the various chances of war, were lost and won again, sometimes by one party, sometimes by the other. There was fighting around Halifax: Crabtree speaks of an obstinate action said to have taken place at the summit of Halifax Bank, near the old road which led to Wakefield; the ground, he says, kept to his day (1836) the name of Bloody Field. He quotes from Dugdale's *Baronage* to show that the Earl of Newcastle, in supreme command of the Royalist forces in Yorkshire, gained victories at a number of places in the county—Halifax,

Leeds, and Bradford are in the list. Vicars, in his *Parliamentary Chronicle*, says that when Bradford was attacked by Lord Newcastle's forces, immediate succour came from Halifax, that a Halifax commander took charge of some part of the defensive operations, and that there arrived to the aid of the Bradford men " from Halifax, some fire men and club men." Crabtree also mentions that " when Leeds was taken by Sir Thomas Fairfax (this was the affair of January, 1643, when Fairfax swept Sir William Savile out of Leeds and took 500 prisoners) many of his men are said to have been inexperienced fresh-water soldiers, taken up about Bradford and Halifax, on the Saturday before the action." When Fairfax attacked Wakefield he drew a thousand foot, three companies of dragoons, and eight troops of horse from the garrisons of Leeds, Bradford, Halifax, and Howley. At Heptonstall there is a tradition that during these affairs the greater part of the place was burned down: what is certain is that in the registers of Halifax there is an interesting entry in which Heptonstall is mentioned:—" Jan. 4, 1643. Two soldiers were hanged on a gallows made near the gibbet, who were taken by Sir Francis Mackworth's company, from Heptonstall forces. They had deserted from the Halifax Army to Heptonstall, for which they were hanged the same night they were taken prisoners."

That Halifax, as a community, was at this time much against King and Church, anti-monarchical and eventually Puritan, there seems to be no doubt. We get evidence of it when we turn to the consideration of Church life between 1642 and 1660. In most of our so-called histories, and especially in those which are put into the hands of children in elementary, and even in secondary schools, nay, even in the pages of such a master as the late John Richard Green, we hear a great deal about

the sufferings of the so-termed ejected clergy of the Restoration, but next to nothing about the sufferings of the Established clergy at the hands of the Puritan hypocrites who lorded it over England for eighteen years. We are not told of the Commission of 1654 which made it impossible for any man who had been ordained by a bishop to obtain a living; nor that it was a criminal offence to use the Book of Common Prayer; nor that only marriages solemnized before a magistrate were lawful; nor that cathedrals were used as stables and the bells of parish churches melted down for cannon and ammunition; nor that congregations were arrested for receiving Holy Communion on Christmas Day, that being, in the Puritan's jaundiced eyes "the superstitious time of the Nativity" nor that the clergy of the Church of England were imprisoned, reduced to poverty, driven, with their dependants, into holes and corners, or literally forced to beg in the streets. For some extraordinary reason, not readily apparent, most of our historians have always suppressed the plain truth about the Puritans of the Commonwealth period, whose true character none knew better than the 3,500 clergy who suffered under their rule.

One such clergyman was the then vicar of Halifax, who is referred to in John Walker's famous book "*An Attempt towards Recovering an Account of the Numbers and Sufferings of the Clergy of the Church of England . . . in the Late Time of the Grand Rebellion,*" though Walker, to be sure, makes some easily understood mistakes in what he records of him. He was Richard Marsh, according to Watson, a Hertfordshire man, educated at Cambridge (though, says Watson, "some have said that he was Fellow of All Saints' College, Oxford") about the beginning of the sixteenth century. He was presented to the Vicarage of Birstall, near Wakefield, in 1614;

became a Prebendary of Southwell in 1625 and in 1634 succeeded Archbishop Bramhall in the prebend of Husthwaite in York Minster. According to an entry made by himself he was inducted into the Vicarage of Halifax in April 1638 ; in 1641 the king presented him to the Archdeaconry of the West Riding. A few years later, when John Scott, Dean of York, driven out of his deanery by the Puritan faction, died a prisoner in the precincts of King's Bench, Charles I., passing over the claims put forward on behalf of Peter Heylin, gave the vacant deanery to Marsh, who had taken his doctor's degree in divinity at Oxford in 1636. But Marsh profited nothing by his deanery nor by his living in Halifax. " In 1642 " says Watson, " he had his living of Halifax sequestered, for delinquency (to the Parliament) to the use of the forces under Lord Fairfax, himself narrowly escaping from the town, but taken prisoner at Blackstone Edge, and carried to Manchester, where he was confined for some time, till he made his escape from thence, and got to the King at Oxford." Watson gives an account of how Vicar Marsh escaped from the Parliamentarian troops at Halifax. His second wife was expecting the birth of their child. " The soldiers coming into the house in search of Dr. Marsh and not finding him, supposed he might be hid in bed, and therefore stabbed their swords into the bed where his wife was laid, and so frightened and wounded her, that it immediately threw her into labour, and she expired almost as soon as she was delivered. The Doctor fled to save himself, and a trusty servant-maid made her escape with the child (a daughter, Catherine, who afterwards married John Kay, of Gomersal and had a daughter Martha who married Dr. Tomlinson, rector of Wickham, and lived to be over a hundred years old) in the night, with nothing but her shift on, carrying it in that condition in the

dark, for fourteen miles, to a relation of the Doctor's, where it remained till the Restoration, when her father was at liberty to return." Marsh, of course, saw no more of Halifax: the loss which he sustained there, says Watson, amounted to more than £4000. He resigned the living before the Restoration, and after the old order of things had been set up again he had little time to enjoy his Deanery, for he died in October 1663, being then nearly eighty years of age, and was buried in the south aisle of the choir of York Minster near the grave of Archbishop Matthew Hutton.

One of the truly conscientious Puritans of that time in the north was a Halifax parishioner, John Hodgson, of Coley, whose memoirs, written "in a sort of pocket-book," were edited by Sir Walter Scott for Constables, of Edinburgh, in 1806, and issued in a volume which also contained Sir Henry Slingsby's memoirs, and a number of papers dealing with Oliver Cromwell's campaigns in Scotland in 1650. This is the man to whom Thomas Carlyle refers as "Captain Hodgson, an honest-hearted, pudding-headed Yorkshire Puritan": Carlyle, too, characterises Hodgson's *Memoirs* as "rough, brief recollections," but accepts them as valuable material for his own biased and untruthful account of his hero, the usurper. In real truth, Hodgson gives a very good account, from his own standpoint, of the troublous times in which he lived. He was a genuine man—one detects nothing of the humbug in him. "When I put my hand to the Lord's work, in 1642," he says, "I did it not rashly, but had many an hour and night to seek God, to know my way, it being a time the nation was filled with rumours and fears." He sets down plainly what he saw during his service with the Parliamentary forces, and the result is that we get a narrative the truth of which is always apparent. "Without meaning to

dispute the merit of De Foe, in his peculiarly happy manner of telling a story, or, in other words, in the art of book-making," says Sir Walter Scott, in his introduction to these Memoirs, "it will probably be found that, truth or falsehood being out of the question, in point of importance, interest, and even pleasantry, Captain Hodgson's narrative is infinitely superior to the *Memoirs of a Cavalier.*" In the first part of his story Hodgson tells how the war broke out in his own immediate neighbourhood, of certain doings around Halifax, of how he joined the Parliamentary forces as "Ensign to Captain Nathaniel Bower, one Forbes, a Scot, commanding us," and how he saw a great deal of active service in the North of England and in Scotland. But for certain reasons, the second part of the *Memoirs* is of more interest, for it shows the unsettled state of this part of Yorkshire for some considerable time after the Restoration of the monarchy. Although Hodgson served under Monk after Charles II. had come to his own, he appears to have been regarded with great suspicion, and between 1660 and 1665 he was frequently arrested on charges of high treason, the information against him being, as a rule, sworn by his immediate neighbours at Halifax. The proceedings were of this sort, and largely explain themselves. "Joseph Lister swore that he heard Lawrence Johnson say that he heard me say that I had never been no turn-coat, *et cætera.* They were like Simeon and Levi, brethren in iniquity. The jury found both the indictments not guilty, and the foreman, one Micklethwaite, told the judge openly in the court, that if such informers and persons were suffered to go on, there would be no living for honest men. The judge asked me why I did not take the oath of allegiance? I told him, I thought it unreasonable to tender it to me, until the King had declared what government he would maintain. But Sir

Thomas Gower and Justice Fairfax were sent to tender the oath, and after much dispute, I took it." Those who took the oath were given a certificate, but in spite of his procuring this warranty of a loyal spirit, Hodgson remained an object of suspicion and was always being arrested and haled to York Castle. The truth is that he was a strong Nonconformist, and allowed conventicles to be held in his house. Nonconformity by that time had waxed strong in Halifax, and more than half of the so-called political troubles arose from the propaganda set up by its chief adherents.

VIII. OLIVER HEYWOOD

OLIVER HEYWOOD, most notable of the early Nonconformists of the Halifax neighbourhood, was a remarkable man in more ways than one. He came of an old Lancashire family which had been established in the parish of Bolton-le-Moors since the time of Edward VI. Hunter, the archæologist, prepared in 1802 a pedigree of this family which shows that its members did things: they were travellers, soldiers, bankers, barristers. Oliver, the second son of Richard Heywood, yeoman, was born at Little Lever, in Lancashire, in 1629, and baptised at Bolton on March 15th of that year. He seems to have been privately educated, most likely in Lancashire, but he eventually proceeded to Trinity College, Cambridge, where he took his Bachelor's degree in due course. He was ordained at Bury in August 1652, and soon afterwards became curate of Coley, near Halifax. Ten years later the Act of Uniformity drove him and many like-thinking clergy out of the Establishment, and for forty years he lived the life and underwent the trials of the Nonconformist ministers of those days. In 1672, Charles the Second granted him a licence to preach, under the Declaration of Indulgence; a facsimile of it, presenting the Royal signature, is given in Turner's edition. It gives permission and licence to "Oliver Heywood, of ye Presbyterian Perswasion to

be a Teacher of the congregation allowed by Us in a Room or Roomes in the house of John Butterworth in ye parish of Hallifax," and " to teach in any other place licensed and allowed by Us according to our said Declaration." Oliver Heywood, under this Royal favour, did preach and teach in a good many other places in his Nonconformist ministry of forty years; he appears, indeed, to have anticipated John Wesley in looking upon the world as his parish, and he pursued the calling of itinerant in Yorkshire and Lancashire with zeal and energy, and was presumably at least as persistent a traveller and as good a horseman as the founder of the people called Methodists. Nevertheless, in spite of the Royal licence, Oliver Heywood was more than once laid by the heels. He spent the year 1685 in York Castle, a prisoner for conscience' sake (there were many other prisoners for conscience' sake, Romanists and Quakers, there, or close by in Ouse Bridge prison, at the same time) and he took his affliction with a good spirit, as being part of a necessary earthly experience. But incarceration within a gaol did not stop him from exercising his ministry, for he began to preach again as soon as he was released, and he continued to preach until his death in 1702. He died at his house in Northowram, a village near Halifax, in the May of that year, and was buried in the famous Holdsworth Chapel of Halifax Parish Church.

Oliver Heywood was the quintessence of seventeenth-century Nonconformity. Not Milton, not Marvell, not John Bunyan, but such men as this sturdy old itinerant of the sombre border-country of Yorkshire and Lancashire represent the gulf which lay between those who stopped in and those who went out of the Church of England in the early days of the Restoration. Oliver Heywood was Presbyterian to his finger-tips; he could

OLD TALBOT HOTEL.

not away with even a Dean or an Archdeacon ; a Prelate was to him very near to the Arch-Abomination. He doubtless wished that such a being as a Bishop had never been specifically mentioned in Holy Scripture, he summoned all the learning that he had—and he was a scholar of great parts—to prove that St. Paul, when he spoke of Bishops, meant no more than a general manager of the ecclesiastical affairs. The Proud Prelate, the Crafty Jesuit, the Pestilent Papist, were his bug-a-boos all through life. Nevertheless, he had a decided, if highly uncomfortable belief that England was doomed to subside once more into the embraces of the Scarlet Woman, and he spent a winter evening of the year 1680 in writing down a series of grave reasons for his conviction, some of which reasons are as quaint as they are curious:—

"5. A grievous spirit of Dissension hath sprung up in many churches and among Christians, some ministers, of Nonconformists that seemes to lay us under a necessity of scourage by a common enemy.

"6. That strange spirit of delusion of the Quakers whose principles, practices, have issued from Rome and tend to it, its Popish points though in another sense, greedily suckt in.

"7. The Arminian doctrines abounding and encouraged as the ready road to preferment, several whereof directly tend to the establishment of Popery, as Freewill, gen. redemption, etc.

"9. Popish ceremonys maintained and make a baitment among Protestants being left among us a pledge of the return of the rest of that treumperys and fopperys.

"10. Popish officers of Prelates, deans, chapters, commissarys, courts, chancellors, officials, their forms of absolution, excommunications in Latin, all in the same words as in the Popish times will probably all goe togather, as they rose togather.

"11. The vain old customs that people are fond of will not part with as times relating to Popish masse. Chtmas, I abhorre it that so excellent a one as Cht. and so abominable an idol as masse should be yoked togather, yet these are so rivetted in people that all goes togather.

"17. A popish successor, active, very potent, rich, hitherto prevalent, and the utmost attempts of parliament not being able to prevail agt him but all endeavours rendered frustraneous and exposed the actors to greater danger.

"20. The great prevalence of papists of later times in these nations all places filled with them, its sd theres 18,000 popish priests and Jesuites, and by their meetings, carriage, gifts and influence have infected many.

"27. Gods preaching visibly from the heavens by a late astonishing comets, reports also of prodigious armys fighting, birds, armes, swords, 3 suns, etc., if true they are natural prognosicks if not moral tokens of a lying spirit prevailing in the world.

"40. The strange and prodigious advancement of all papists and popishly affected into all places of honour, trust, civil, military, ecclesiastical, their interest, influence by pretended holiness, wit their authority, armes, the power in garrisons, etc., speak us in the eye of reason galloping apace towards Rome."

Three days later, however, he recovers his spirits, and under date January 27th 1680, he sets down a confident prediction:

"I am persuaded the Lord will at last destroy the pope of Rome, and all the Anti-Christian Hierarchy, and pour out the rest of the vials upon that grand enemy of the Church in these gospel times, and as he hath begun to destroy him with the breath of his mouth by gospel preaching so by the brightness of his coming he will by

such instruments as he shall raise up still more confound him till he be quite consumed."

But Oliver Heywood's diaries and memoranda are by no means confined to theology, controversy, and religious affairs. He was a man of many papers. He wrote an account of his own family, which he believed to "spring from some younger brothers of the House of Heywood of Heywood, Esq., sent betwixt Rachdale (Rochdale) and Bury, for old Mr. Robert Heywood a pious reverend old gentleman and an excellent poet was wont to call my father Cozen," and of such members of it as he himself was personally acquainted with he gives brief and graphic pen pictures. There is John Heywood, "a tall proper man, red haire, very plain hearted, of a loving nature"; Josiah, "a pretty man, flaxen hair, exceeding witty"; Thomas Crompton, "a man of stupendious memory"; Alice Bradley, "something knotty and stubborn"; Elizabeth Whitehead, "a pretty, sweet, desireable child"; James Crompton, "a sweet, comely, witty youth"; William Whitehead, "a non-such of his quality in the country." Also he wrote an Autobiography, which Horsfall Turner found in a diminutive pocket-book, three inches by two, in the very smallest of Heywood's small autograph. In "my little black book with clasps" he wrote, also in characters almost as small as the fine handwriting of Charlotte Brontë, a diary which began in March 1665, when he was driven out from among his own people, and continued for two years. In another similar book he kept a record of Events; in another a further Diary; in "my book with the rough cover" more Events and Happenings; in various forms he preserved a full and faithful record of his doings, his thoughts, his affairs until the time of his release from this bodily prison. One learns much of him, his mind, his outlook on men and things, from

these various papers and paper-books. He set down records of his personal adventures as faithfully as his contemporary Samuel Pepys; he was particularly interested in all that went on about him. He chronicles a good deal of small beer, but it tastes sharp and good even after its long stay in the barrel. He loves to tell of Comets; of Signs in the Sky; of Plagues and Distempers; of Tavern Brawls; of the ungodliness of Cock Fighting Squires; of Dealings in Land and in Property; of strange Manifestations of Providence; of People falling into Wells; and of Extraordinary Floods, Frosts, and Droughts. It is very evident that he was not a little superstitious; he firmly believed that folk are occasionally possessed of Devils; in spite of his education and learning, he is as fond as any old woman of the dales and fells of talking about Gabriel Ratchets, Nighte-Whistlers, and Blazinge-Starrs. There is not a sudden death in his neighbourhood that he does not chronicle and improve upon, and not Pepys himself is more meticulous in setting forth the various events of many days of little things—but always with charm and quaintness.

But we will let the good man tell a few of his own stories. Here is a sidelight on a Christmas happening at the great house of Kirklees, that ancient Yorkshire manor-place wherein Robin Hood had breathed his last a few centuries earlier:—

"Sir John Armitage kept open house at Christmas and being captain of a troop, he had two trumpeters, one whereof was a little low man but exceeding fat, and there was a woman of equal stature, and fatness at Kirkley's that was a dame to some of their children, now it was the great delight of the Lady A. and others in their mirth to set this couple dancing, wch they did, and they strove so long wch should continue longer that the

woman fell down and was carried to bed, and dyed within too days, and the man went home and he also dyed within a few days after that."

Here is his account of a tragedy, concerning which he writes with unwonted moderation, seeing that in the last few lines he hints that the victim was certainly one of those bloódy and deceitful men who shall not live out half their days :—

" Sir Francis Cob a great man in the East Riding of Yorkshire travelling to London about January 5th, 1675, lay at a kinsman's house in Lincolnshire one Mr. Marwood's in his journey lying long in the morning, his man went to help him up, but he said he was not well, so intreat my uncle to excuse me for I shall not come to dinner to-day, so he left him in his bed, when he was gone Sir Francis rose out of his bed fell upon his own sword wch went in at his belly and came out of his back and was fallen dead on the floor, his man sth now that he had askt him to kill him 3 times—the occasion is thought to be the death of one old Mr. Kirk of London that had allowed him 500 a year, having little of his own, being in much debt, laid himself in the King's bench—this man was the principall prosecutor of the poor men in the plot time, having imprisoned several, some whereof dyed by the hand of violence, *viz.* 22, others dyed of feares and other diseases in York Castle many whereof I knew and could mention."

Sometimes he sets down particulars of State matters—here is his abstract of the famous Act of Parliament to which Pope's poor Narcissa objected so strongly on her death-bed :—

" *Anno Regno Car. II. Regis Angliae Tricessimo* :— At the Parlt. begun at Westminster 8 of May 1661 by several prorogations, adjourments, continued till 15 of July 1678 : An Act for Burying in Woollen. The

former act made in 18 years of Reign ineffectual for lessening the importation of linnen from beyond sea and incouragment of woollen and paper manufactures in this kingdom, but unobserved—repealed, this in force from Aug. 1, 1678, from thence no corpse must be interred in any shirt, shift, sheet, or shroud made or mingled with flax, hemp, silk, hair, gold or silver or any stuff other than is made of sheeps wool, or be put into any coffin, lead, faced, with anything but made of sheeps wool only upon pain of forfeiture of 5*ll.* All persons in holy orders—keep a register of persons buryed in their precincts, one or more of the relations shall within 8 days after make affidavit under the hands and seales of two or more credible witnesses . . . that the person was not buryed in linen . . . persons dying of the plague are excepted. From Aug. 1, 78, judges of assizes, justices at sessions give this in charge: this act to be read the first Sunday after Barth. day for 7 years."

Accounts of his neighbours' misdoings are multitudinous and circumstantial:—

"Last week, being the first week in Feb. 1778–9, 6 young men of Halifax went to an ale house at the Pulenick and entered into a solemn vow and oath among themselves that they would drink till they were drunk and he that was first dead drunk should pay for all the rest: the order they took in this disorderly match was to drink first a pennyworth of ale and another of brandy wch they did, and when 3 or 4 of them were drunk and lay on the floor the other two spread a sheet over them and fell a laughing, insulting over their drunk companions one of these horrid conquerors was Daniel Greenwood's son, a child comparitively who had drunk 24 peny pots of ale and 24 pennyworth of brandy, and yet its said that it was not discernable upon him that he had drunk anything, oh astonishing thing!"

Sometimes he notes an affair of interest to archæologists :—

" On Wednesday May 14, 79 there was a jury at Sowerby about some money that was found a year agoe in the field of John Ratcliff the one Ryly is landlord, as the plowers were plowing pieces of silver came up, the plow-holder left the plow, gathered, he that followed scratched also, the plow-driver at last came to them, but got not his share, complained, now there striving, Lord of the Mannour expects a share they take but to 7*ll* value. J. B. bought 5*lis* worth of it, being Roman Coyn, in their pence being 7*d*. ob. the jury swore witnesses, could make little of it."

Anything of the following nature never escapes his attention :—

" Dr. Wastel of Wakefield on Thursday night Oct. 2, 79, going up a pair of staires with a Tobacco-pipe in his mouth fell forward and struck the end of the pipe into his throat wch stuck there and could never be got out, he lived in misery, could not speak but writ his mind, dyed on Munday Oct. 6, 79, he was a very usefull phisitian, but strangely heterodox in opinions, much given to disputations, a hand of god, he was too much addicted to tobacco."

Here is a significant example of the fashion in which certain folk of that period passed their time :—

" Upon Monday, May 31 1680, there was to begin a great cocking at Halifax, the place was on the back side of the Crosse, at Halifax, the inn is kept by widow Mitchel where a cocking house is built that cost 32*ll*. Many gentlemen came to it upon the monday, that day was spent in appointing judges to sit and match the cocks which they did with great authority, on the tuesday the poorer sort of Halifax brought their cocks wch were to fight first, but Mr. Tho. Thornhill sd. what had

beggars to doe to fight their cocks among gentlemen upon wch the Cockrofts son tript up his heels, so they fell to blows, and they took sides and all fought desperately a long while, Ab. Mitchell taking the poor mens part: at last Jo. Mitchel drew his rapier and swore he would run him through that struck another stroke, so they were quieted—then they fell to cocking, and the Halifax cocks generally beat the gentlemens, then on the wednesday, thursday, friday the gentlemen's cocks forght, abundance of money was lost and won—they drunk all night and were so high in swearing, ranting at the Crosse that they were heard far in the town. Ld. E. a Scotch Lord, stood on horseback at T. C. door, swearing, ranting, calling for sack, making people drink, 100 were flocking about them, then rid desperately along the Corn-market and light at Crosse, stayd most of the week—many sth my authour, went home with heavy heads and empty purses; in the night they drank and played at dice. J. M. stakt 15 half-crowns at a cast—it's thought he lost 40*ll.* oh dreadful the same day there was a cocking at Denham Gate. *Help Lord.*"

In a small manuscript book inscribed "Bought at Halifax, cost 6*d.* 1679," Oliver Heywood set down a series of "Experiments and Reflections" to which he appended another series headed "Objects with Observations." In them he gives remarkable instances of punishment following speedily upon sin, of judgments lighting quickly upon haughty persons. His reflections on these matters show that the good man had no great belief in coincidence; he saw Purpose, and Result, and Consequence too plainly to be seduced in that way. If a sinner drank too many pots at the ale-house and "brak his legge" in stumbling homeward, the mishap was no accident, but the instant manifestation of Divine Anger. When Nevinson, the notorious highwayman,

was at last arrested and brought to justice, the old Adam of bigotry which was always strong in Oliver Heywood, broke out unreservedly in his observations on the ill-doer's fate. "Oh, what a difference is there," he exclaims, "betwixt the god we serve and the devil whom wicked men serve! This poor man at last found and confest that his Sabbath-breaking, drinking, lewd company, and bad courses had brought him to that shameful end, *it's said he was a papist and had his pardon in his bosom!*" Pardons in their bosoms or no, Oliver Heywood would have very cheerfully hanged all the Papists in the country; one is far from sure that he would have objected if their quarters had been stuck on pikes above the gates of that York in which he himself was imprisoned for conscience' sake.

For the sturdy old Nonconformist suffered. Despite the elaborate licence which bears the autograph of "Charles R" at its head, and the signature of my Lord Secretary Arlington at its foot, his enemies rarely left him alone. The conforming clergy were always at him; the magistrates kept a jealous eye on his doings; the bailiffs and constables often darkened his door. He was scurvily treated. He had a love of books; like many book-lovers he kept lists of his treasures; when he bought a book (and he bought many books, for he was a man of means) he set down its particulars and its price. One such list is printed in Horsfall's edition of his Diaries—a goodly list, including many fine works of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. At its foot the old man in after years wrote a significant and pregnant line. *These taken from me for preaching the Gospel.* Nevertheless, he endured, very faithfully and courageously, to the end: he even kept up his diary-making until within a day or two of his death. Always he remained cheerful, and of a lively spirit.

But that is what one would expect to hear after looking upon the facsimile of an old copper-plate engraving of him which appears in Horsfall's edition. It is no lantern-jawed, melancholic, Praise-God-Barebones face that we look upon, but rather the face of a man who ought to have had at least a Deanery. There he is, in his gown and his bands and his cap ; his venerable curls are neatly spread on either cheek of a full, round, something-plump face ; one can imagine that face looking over the top of a pulpit, but cannot conceive of its possessor as a tub-thumper. And if he had not possessed that little kink in his mentality which made him see scarlet whenever episcopacy was mentioned, Oliver Heywood would doubtless have worn a rochet and added a mitre to those family arms of which he was no little vain. He was, however, a brave man, in that he abided mightily by his stern and sincere convictions ; in any age, under any conditions, he would have been a good martyr, resisting even unto blood. Let us hope, then, that he has long enjoyed the delights of the Heavenly Jerusalem on which he kept so firm a gaze, and has there made many eternal and surprising friendships with some of the Proud Prelates, Pestilent Papists, and Craftie and Subtile Jesuites whom he loathed so heartily and inveighed against so thunderously while he and they still wore the garment of what he was so fond of calling this Dunghille Fleshe.

IX. TWO HALIFAX PRELATES

JAMES the Second's experiences in relation with bishops, whether Roman or Anglican, were by no means of a pleasant or successful sort. One Yorkshireman there was of his time, who, being elevated to the episcopal bench of the Established Church, joined with others of his brethren in valiantly withstanding the King to his face: John Lake, who, like John Tillotson, Archbishop of Canterbury, was a native of the parish of Halifax. Lake, in addition to his association by birth, has many other associations with Yorkshire. He was the first Vicar of Leeds—the first of a very long and notable succession, ranging from himself to the present times—to become a bishop, and he was at one time one of the Canons of York. He had a varied, an interesting, and in some respects a strange career, and though he held three different bishoprics in the course of it, he will not gain so much ultimate fame from his ecclesiastical record as from the fact that he was one of the Seven Bishops who by their brave stand against a tyrannical King did so much to ensure the liberties of future generations of Englishmen.

John Lake was born in the parish of Halifax in 1623 (Watson says "in that part called Petticoat Lane"), and after being educated at a neighbouring Grammar School, was sent to Cambridge, being entered at St.

John's College in his thirteenth year. He had just taken his degree of B.A., when trouble arose at Cambridge between Royalist and Roundhead—chiefly caused, of course, by Puritan interference with University usages. The Earl of Manchester took upon himself the task of reforming the University. Many Masters and Fellows of various colleges were summarily turned out for refusing to take the oath of the Solemn League and Covenant. In the spring of 1644, sixty-three Fellows were ejected for declining to attend upon the Earl when summoned. Some little time before this Cromwell had seized upon some of the University plate; Manchester now appropriated more, lest it should be—as it certainly was meant to be—sent to the King, then at Oxford. In the winter of 1643 Manchester gave orders to one Dowsing, to reform the churches and chapels of Cambridge by destroying any stone altar that was still in existence, removing to the body of the church, any holy table which stood in the chancel, and breaking up all images, crosses, and pictures. The colleges suffered less than the parish churches, but it was only by special efforts that Whichcote, Provost of King's, contrived to save the glorious glass of the Chapel. The Puritan rule was harsh and stringent. No stranger might enter the town without a permit from the Committee. Roundhead soldiers were quartered in the Colleges. Roundhead soldiers used King's College Chapel as a drill-hall, and Lake's College, St. John's, was used as a prison for all who were loyal to the King. Of such was Lake himself: he was Cavalier in theory and practice all his life. He effected his escape from Cambridge at this juncture, made his way across country to Oxford, joined the army, and before long distinguished himself by the valour which he displayed in the defence—unavailing though it was—of Basing House. He afterwards saw active service in the

operations around Wallingford Castle, and altogether was in the army about four years. He then retired from military life, and took Holy Orders, and about 1647 appears to have held a lectureship at the parish church of his birthplace. After the Restoration he got a firmer hold on his native Yorkshire by being elected Vicar of Leeds: previously he had, for a brief period, again held the Lectureship at Halifax Parish Church. Dean Stephens, in his *Memorials of the See of Chichester*, says that there was great opposition to Lake's election to Leeds: there was certainly at that time a Vicar of Leeds, Mr. Robinson, who had been turned out by the Puritan faction, but he was living at Swillington, just outside the town, and had no desire to return; indeed, he strongly advised and supported Lake's election. Lake remained Vicar of Leeds until 1668, when he was appointed to St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate—that he afterwards visited his old Yorkshire parish is proved by an entry in Ralph Thoresby's diary, recording a sermon by him in Leeds Parish Church in 1683. Meanwhile, he had left his London cure for the incumbency of Prestwich, in Cheshire; this was in 1670, in which year he was appointed Canon of York. In 1682 he became Bishop of Sodor and Man; in 1684 he was translated to the See of Bristol, and in the following year he became Bishop of Chichester, the diocese with which his name is most closely and rightfully associated.

But before he came to Chichester, Lake had experienced another taste of military, or of semi-military life. When the Monmouth rising broke out in the Western Counties, Lake was sent thither to do what he could to prevent the spread of disaffection amongst the Somerset and Devonshire gentry, and in the course of his labours and adventures he had a narrow escape of being captured by the rebels. He entered upon quieter times at Chichester

—but only for a brief period. In April, 1687, James II. put forth his famous Declaration of Liberty of Conscience. On the surface it looked to be a measure of wide and generous toleration, for it not only suspended all the harsh penal laws against dissenters, Romanist and Protestant, but also abolished all oaths and tests. But its main design was at once seen through—the last chance plainly manifested the intention of the King to re-establish his own religion. Here and there the Declaration was received with satisfaction, but the vast majority of the people viewed it with suspicion and dislike. Before autumn of that year the King's intentions became evident, especially at Oxford, where he came to open difference with the authorities of Magdalen College, who strenuously, and in the end successfully, resisted his efforts to force Romanist domination upon them. And in the following spring the non-compliance of the President and Fellows of Magdalen was succeeded by open defiance on the part of the Primate, Sancroft, and six of the Bishops. In May, 1688, an Order in Council required the reading of the Declaration in all churches during divine service. Sancroft summoned the bishops and called a meeting of the more eminent of the London clergy, in addition. Several notable laymen were consulted—among them were John Evelyn, celebrated for his zealous attachment to the Church of England and of great influence in Church matters, and the King's own brother-in-law, Lord Clarendon. It was decided not to obey the Order in Council, on the ground of its illegality, which was obvious. Matters rapidly became critical. May 20 had been fixed for the reading of the Declaration; on the 18th, Archbishop Sancroft and seven of the bishops assembled at Lambeth, and six famous divines, amongst whom were Stillingfleet, Tillotson, and Sherlock, were called in as consultants.

A series of resolutions was prepared, giving reasons for non-compliance with the Order. This done, a petition was prepared for immediate presentation to the King. It set forth the grave and momentous nature of the Order, and declared that the petitioners could not "in prudence, honour, or conscience," make themselves parties to its publication. To this petition Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, Lloyd, Bishop of St. Asaph, Turner, Bishop of Ely, Lake, Bishop of Chichester, Ken, Bishop of Bath and Wells, White, Bishop of Peterborough, and Trelawney, Bishop of Bristol, at once appended their signatures. All but Sancroft, who had for some time been forbidden to show himself at court, then proceeded to Whitehall, and humbly presented the petition to the King. "This," said James, in obvious anger, "is rebellion; I did not expect such usage from the Church of England." "We will honour you, but we must fear God," replied Trelawney, and then repeated the words. "I will be obeyed," said the King. "God's will be done," answered Trelawney, and the bishops withdrew.

The news of the bishops' resistance and action spread everywhere. On the Sunday on which the Declaration was to be read, the churches were packed by excited congregations. In all London there were only four attempts made to read the disliked and obnoxious document. At Westminster Abbey, Sprat, Bishop of Rochester, who was also Dean of Westminster, began to read it—by the time he had finished he had no hearers but the choir and the boys of the adjacent school. In Oxford, the Declaration was not read in one church; all over England it was scarcely read anywhere; wherever it was read, the congregations rose in a body and trooped out of church. A week went by; on the second Sunday the Declaration was still further ignored. Early in June,

Sancroft and the other signatories to the petition were arrested, and sent to the Tower ; on June 29th they were brought before the Court of King's Bench. The trial lasted all day ; the jury passed the whole of the succeeding night in considering their verdict ; at ten o'clock next morning they returned a verdict of not guilty. All England went wild with enthusiasm, and a medal was struck to commemorate the bishops' vindication of the liberties of the nation.

The popularity of the seven bishops, and the joy manifested at the result of their trial, was, however, not more because they had resisted what was without doubt an utter illegality on the part of James II. than that there was at that time, due, mainly, to the recent affair of the Popish Plot, a very strong anti-Romanist feeling in the country. The famous, or infamous, Declaration had promised liberty of conscience to all dissenters, whether Romanist or Protestant, but Sancroft took special care to make it known that in resisting it, he and his fellow prelates had felt very tenderly towards their Protestant nonconformist fellow-subjects, and that their main reasons were to prevent the spread and re-establishment of Popery. Toleration towards Quakers, Anabaptists, Brownists, men of the school of Sancroft were prepared to allow, if needs must be ; men of the Tillotson school were prepared not only to allow, but to welcome it. But toleration of Romanism was not to be permitted for one moment, nor in any degree. Nothing better proves the fierce and bitter hatred which was shown to Romanists at this time than a study of the polemical literature which was then constantly pouring from the press. Here is a copy of the title-page of one such publication, selected at random from the Catalogue of Books printed and published at London in Easter Term, 1689: "*The Scarlet Whore*, or The Wicked

DOORWAY OF MILDURE HOUSE

Abominations and horrid Cruelties of the Pope and Church of *Rome* displayed; being a brief Relation of their bloody Practices and Tortures inflicted on Protestants in all Countries. The original of the Spanish Inquisition; the Massacres at *Paris* and in *Ireland*, and Bishop USHER's Prophesie thereof; the Gunpowder Treason; the Spanish Invasion, with their several Plots and Conspiracies to extirpate the Protestant Religion to the present time. Twelves. Price 1s. Printed for N. CROUCH at the Bell in the *Poultry*." In the same Catalogue is *The Wanton Friar*, and several pamphlets showing the bloody and diabolical contrivings of the Jesuits, and a book against Transubstantiation and a Plain Answer to a Popish Priest, and a popular book called *Antichrist Stormed, or the Church of Rome proved to be Mystery, Babylon, The Great Whore;* there is even *The Child's Monitor against Popery: written to preserve the Child of a Person of Quality from being seduced by his Popish Parents.*

The proceedings at the trial of the seven bishops naturally produced some contemporary literature. A formal account was issued in a folio volume by T. Barrett, at the *George*, in Fleet Street, and T. Fox, at the *Angel*, in Westminster Hall, in spring 1689; a second edition of this came out in the following autumn, with some additions, by which it appears that the counsel engaged were the Honourable Mr. Finch, Sir Francis Pemberton, Sir Creswell Levins, Sir George Treby, Sir Robert Sawyer, Sir Henry Pollexfen, and Mr. Somers. An account of the trial is given in a Collection of Papers of contemporary events published by R. Clavell at the *Peacock*, H. Mortlock at the *Phœnix*, and J. Robinson at the *Golden Lion* in St. Paul's Churchyard in 1689; this was very quickly in a second edition, and there was a third in the following year. In 1689, too, A. Churchill

of the *Black Swan*, in Ave Mary Lane published a quarto pamphlet bearing special reference to Lake—"A Letter from a Person of Quality in the North to a friend in *London*, concerning Bishop Lake's late Declaration of his dying in the belief of the Doctrine of Passive Obedience, as the distinguishing Character of the Church of England." This was issued soon after Lake's death, which took place in August 1689. Stern as he had been in his defiance of James, the old Yorkshireman was equally stern in his refusal to acknowledge William of Orange. One of seven recusants in 1687, he was also one of seven non-jurors in 1689. Suspended from his episcopal duties, he retired to London, soon afterwards died, and was interred in his old church of St. Botolph. His chaplain, Robert Jenkins, who wrote his life and published it in a quarto volume in 1690, says of him that he was of "an extraordinary courteous and generous temper, always affable and easy of access, free and cheerful in his conversation, full of meekness and condescension." He says, too, that as Bishop of Chichester, Lake "was always exceeding dear to the gentlemen of Sussex, who met him in several parts of his diocese with that respect which was wont to be paid to the primitive bishops; and they were no less dear to him; but his coming to them after his release from his trial was like the return from banishment of St. Athanasius or St. Chrysostom."

The booksellers' catalogues of the period 1666–1694 contain numerous references to Lake's more famous fellow-native of Halifax parish, John Tillotson, who, from the time of his publication of the *Rule of Faith*, in the first-named year, until his death, kept the press busy with various books and pamphlets, and a number of sermons. Tillotson was essentially a churchman by profession: his whole life was spent in matters

ecclesiastic. The son of Robert Tillotson, who had some connection with the staple industry of Halifax, as cloth or wool merchant, he was born at Old Haugh End in the township of Sowerby, in the parish of Halifax, in 1630, in a house which stood on the side of the highroad leading from Halifax to Rochdale. The family is said to have been of a strongly Calvinist disposition, and his early dissenting influences doubtless coloured the whole of Tillotson's career. First educated at Colne, in Lancashire, he was admitted as a pensioner at Clare Hall, Cambridge, in 1647. In 1650 he took his bachelor's degree, and in 1654 his master's, and was soon afterwards elected to a Fellowship. He was a curate in Hertfordshire about the time of the Restoration, and was then a holder of the prevalent Puritan views, but he conformed in 1662, when so many men of his school were ejected and in 1666—in which year he secured his Doctor of Divinity's degree—he was made Chaplain to Charles II. having, between the Hertfordshire days and that year, been incumbent of the Suffolk living of Keddington, and, in 1664, Preacher of Lincoln's Inn. Preferment in his case was steady. He was preferred to a Canonry of Canterbury in 1669; he became Dean of Canterbury three years later; in 1689 he exchanged his Canterbury deanery for that of St. Paul's, and in 1691 he succeeded the deprived Sancroft as Archbishop of Canterbury. In 1694 he died and was buried in the city church of St. Lawrence Jewry, wherein he had constantly preached during the previous thirty years.

Tillotson appears to have had several characteristics akin to those which distinguished Lake. He was a man of admittedly sincere piety. His personal charm was evidently great; he impressed all who knew him with his kindliness and manifest candour. But their views as churchmen were of a widely different sort. Lake was

a High Churchman; Tillotson was essentially of the school which at a later date was rightly called Latitudinarian. He was always in close touch and sympathy with the Protestant dissenters; he was essentially anti-Romanist; he was for widening the Establishment in in such a fashion that it would have lost its distinguishing marks had such policy as he favoured been carried out. But he was not a man to push any policy: in all things he was a lover of peace and quietness. He "had the ambition," says Milman, in his *Annals*, "of establishing in the weary, worn-out, distracted, perplexed mind and heart of England, a Christianity of calm reason, of plain, practical English good sense." One of the most celebrated churchmen of his day, a most popular preacher, in spite of the utter lack of enthusiasm in his sermons, which Archdeacon Hutton calls "frigid moral essays," he was forced into his Archbishopric by William III., and as Archbishop he did nothing, never even once calling Convocation together during the three years of his primacy. In him William found the Archbishop he wished for—a non-party man who would willingly have submitted to any reform of the Establishment and any alteration in its services. As ruler of the Church, Tillotson's performances are aptly summed up in Archdeacon Hutton's phrase—"His primacy had no history." And, as another Archdeacon, Sinclair, remarks, "He endeavoured to govern the Church by royal injunctions; and in the disturbed condition of that time, and with such a King as William on the throne, no policy could have been more unfortunate."

But the son of the Halifax clothier was a power in his time. In the days when London was famous for its preachers, Stillingfleet at St. Paul's, Sherlock at the Temple, Burnet at the Rolls Chapel, Tenison (his ultimate successor in the Archbishopric) at St. Martin's in the

Fields, Tillotson drew crowds to Lincoln's Inn and to St. Lawrence Jewry. His sermons were as much admired when read in print as when he delivered them from the pulpit. "I have often heard Dryden own with pleasure that if he had any talent for English prose it was owing to his having often read the writings of the great Archbishop Tillotson," wrote Congreve, another Yorkshireman, in his edition of Dryden's Plays, and that Dryden's admiration was fully shared by a considerable number of people is proved by the eagerness of the booksellers to print anything which Tillotson cared to send to the press. In fact, Tillotson was one of the most popular authors of his day, and that the booksellers knew his value, as what would now be called a best seller, appears from the fact that when he died, leaving nothing to his widow but a number of sermons in manuscript, the London publishers eagerly bought them up, giving two thousand five hundred guineas for the copyright—"equivalent," calculated Macaulay, "in the wretched state in which the silver coin then was, to at least three thousand six hundred pounds. Such a price had never before been given in England."

Perhaps because of his Latitudinarianism—or, as it may be otherwise termed, his eclecticism—Tillotson is a favourite with Macaulay. Macaulay takes him up at the Lincoln's Inn period and never lets us lose sight of him until his sudden death in 1694. He places him high amongst the eminent men who at that time distinguished the Church of England by their abilities and learning, and made "religion respectable, even in the most dissolute of Courts." He shows him to us as a convinced anti-Romanist, in a passage which gives us a wonderfully clear notion of Tillotson's opinion on the most vexed question of that age. "It was not only by the ignorant populace," writes Macaulay, "it was not

only by zealots in whom fanaticism had extinguished all reason and charity, that the Roman Catholic was regarded as a man, the very tenderness of whose conscience might make him a false witness, an incendiary, or a murderer; as a man who, where his Church was concerned, shrank from no atrocity and would be bound by no oath. If there were in that age two persons inclined by their judgment and by their temper to toleration, those persons were Tillotson and Locke. Yet Tillotson, whose indulgence for various kinds of schismatics and heretics brought on him the reproach of heterodoxy, told the House of Commons from the pulpit that it was their duty [a sermon preached by Tillotson to the Commons on (a significant date) November 5th, 1678] to make effectual provision against the propagation of a religion more mischievous than irreligion itself, of a religion which demanded from its followers services directly opposed to the first principles of morality. His temper, he truly said, was prone to lenity; but his duty to the community forced him to be, in this one instance, severe. He declared that, in his judgment, Pagans who had never heard the name of Christ, and who were guided only by the light of nature, were more trustworthy members of civil society than men who had been formed in the schools of the Popish casuists." Plainly, the tendencies of Charles II. towards Romanism, and the treachery of James II. to the Church of England, to whose clergy, as Macaulay rightly says, he "owed his crown," would meet with no sympathy from Tillotson, whose voice and pen were freely employed against Rome, as he understood Rome to be, to the last. But in the end of his days, Tillotson—who had none of the scruples of Lake and Ken, Turner and Frampton, nor of his own predecessor, Sancroft—found a King who was absolutely of his own complexion and after his own heart. Between

William of Orange and his first Archbishop of Canterbury there was not only perfect sympathy, but much personal affection. William, on his coming into the country, had pledged his word to be a good friend to the Protestant dissenters: Tillotson, in his relations with the separated communities, was a man of an apparently boundless charity: in Tillotson, as Archdeacon Hutton remarks, William had found "the simplicity and submissiveness which he desired." The new King had no difficulties with Tillotson, and when the Primate was suddenly stricken down in the chapel at Whitehall, during divine service, to die before anything could be done for him, William's grief was great, and, for the cold-hearted man he was popularly supposed to be, evidently deep and sincere. It says much for Tillotson that William's sorrow was shared in by all classes of the community. In London he had always been popular, from the days in which folk flocked in large numbers to hear his sermons in the chapel of Lincoln's Inn, and in the City church of St. Lawrence Jewry. Now vast crowds assembled to do honour to his remains as they were carried from Westminster by way of Southwark and London Bridge to be laid in the London church in the pulpit of which he had made his great reputation as a pulpit orator. Burnet, Macaulay tells us, preached the funeral sermon, and was so affected that he burst into tears in the middle of it: his emotion was answered by loud cries of sorrow from the packed congregation. At Whitehall, Queen Mary wept, too—even the iron-hearted William shed tears. And William did more—of a practical nature. Tillotson had left nothing to his widow but his bundle of sermons: the King assigned her a pension of four hundred a year, and afterwards increased it to six, and he was so particular about its prompt payment that he took good care that the money

passed through his own hands, direct to her, as each quarter day came round. In the parish church of Halifax Tillotson, in Watson's time, was commemorated by a tablet in the chancel, whereon the arms of the See of Canterbury were impaled with his own, beneath which, in letters of gold, was this inscription :—*Johanes Tillotson, Archiepus Cantuar. natus Sowerbie, re-natus Halyfaxie,* 3^{tio} 8^{bris} 1630. *De-natus Lambethae,* 22° *Novembris, A.D.* 1694. *Ætatis suae,* 65.

X. THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

DURING the time of the Tudors, the population of Halifax increased greatly: Mr. Lister estimates that when Dr. Haldesworth was vicar there were over ten thousand people in the parish, and we have already seen that Vicar Ashburn, in his Protestant zeal, offered Queen Elizabeth at least three thousand stout fellows for her assistance when disaffection broke out in the North. Camden, who was in this part of the West Riding about 1575–80 estimated the population of Halifax at 12,500; a few years later the Free Grammar School at Heath was founded by Queen Elizabeth "for the continual bringing up, teaching, and learning of children and youth of the parish and vicarage of Halifax, and also of other villages and hamlets near adjoining unto the same, and of other our faithful and high people whosoever they be"—the land was given by the Earl of Shrewsbury and Edward Savile. In 1639 on the petition of Nathaniel Waterhouse, who gave a house for the purpose, Charles I. granted a charter for the establishment of a workhouse for the use of the destitute poor of the parish; we may be quite sure that its thirteen governors did not forget the belief prevalent in those days that correction is the best form of charity.

Of the state and importance of Halifax in the first quarter of the eighteenth century we may get a very

good idea from Daniel Defoe, who came to the town somewhere between 1720 and 1726, by way of the wild regions in the neighbourhood of Blackstone Edge, which he crossed in a snowstorm, in the company of a stumbling horse and a frightened dog. Defoe, a keen and wide-eyed observer, found that the town had got over its troubles of the days of the Civil War and the Restoration and was doing a big trade in cloth ; since the Revolution of 1688, he says, the Halifax clothiers had profited much by making kerseys for the uniform of the regiments on foreign service : the effect upon the population had been sufficient to increase it by one-fourth between 1680 and 1720. Of late years, he was informed, Halifax had begun to manufacture a new sort of cloth, called shalloons ; of this they were turning out one hundred thousand pieces a year. The trade in kerseys was so great that he was told of one manufacturer whose trade by commission amounted to £60,000 in twelve months. According to his account, there were at that time three market-days a week ; the town was crowded on each, but especially on Saturday. Halifax folk, he says, got their corn from Lincoln, Nottingham, and the East Riding ; their cattle and horses from the North Riding ; their sheep and mutton from all sides ; their cheese from Cheshire and Warwickshire. He was much struck by the enormous number of black cattle sold in Halifax in the later months of the year. "This demand for beef," he writes, "is occasioned thus : the usage of the people is to buy in that season (autumn) beef sufficient for the whole year, which they kill and salt and hang up in the smoke to dry. This way of curing their beef, keeps it all the winter, and they eat their smoked beef as a very great rarity. Upon this it is ordinary for a clothier that has a large family to come to Halifax on a market day, and buy two or three large bullocks from £8 to £10 apiece ;

MARKET HALL.

these he carries home and kills for his store, and this is the reason that the markets at all these times of the year are thronged with black cattle, as Smithfield is on a Friday, whereas all the rest of the year there is little extraordinary sold there. Thus one trading manufacturing part of the country supports all the countries round about it, and numbers of people settle here as bees about a hive."

Defoe, who appears to have spent some time in Halifax (there is a local tradition that he wrote at any rate some portions of *Robinson Crusoe* there), gives a very good picture of the craftsman of the neighbourhood as he was some fifty or sixty years before the factory system began. He says that between Blackstone Edge and Halifax the country was thick with houses—"hardly one house standing out of a speaking distance from another"—and that at each was a tenter (frame for stretching cloth) and on every tenter a piece of cloth. Every house, he remarks, had its supply of running water—" with the soap, the tallow, and other ingredients used by the clothiers in dressing and scouring, the lands through which it passed are enriched by it to a degree beyond imagination. As every clothier must necessarily keep one horse at least to fetch home his wool and his provisions from the market, to carry his yarn to the spinners, his manufacture to the fulling mill, and where finished to the market to be sold, and the like, so every one generally keeps a cow or two for his family. By this means the small pieces of enclosed land about each house are occupied, and by being thus fed further improved from the dung of the cattle. As for corn, they scarce grow enough to feed their poultry. We saw the houses full of lusty fellows, some at the dye vat, some at the loom, others dressing the cloths, the women and the children cording and spinning, all employed from the youngest

to the oldest, scarce anything above four years old but its hands are sufficient for its own support. Not a beggar to be seen, nor an idle person, except here and there in an almshouse built for those that are ancient and past working. The people in general live long, they enjoy a good air, and under such circumstances hard labour is naturally attended with the blessing of health if not riches." A pleasing picture, and one that makes vivid contrast with the horrors that followed upon the introduction of machinery and the setting up of the factories.

Already in Defoe's time there had been established in Halifax "a large and plentiful shambles" whereat the clothiers of the surrounding district sold their wares: these stood in the centre of the town, near the old market Cross; close by were shops or open booths whereat wool was sold. But there were other convenient centres in the immediate neighbourhood, much frequented by clothiers, whereat covered halls had been built before Defoe's visit to Yorkshire—Wakefield had got one in 1710 and Leeds in 1711: Huddersfield was later in following the example; its first covered hall was opened in 1768; Bradford emulated the example in 1773; six years later the Halifax folk built the Manufacturers' or Piece Hall, a large quadrangular erection of the free stone of the district, covering a space of ten thousand square yards, and containing over three hundred separate small rooms wherein the clothiers displayed their goods. "It was erected," says Crabtree, "at the expense of the merchants and manufacturers of shalloons and other woollen goods within the parish, for the accommodation of themselves and the merchants and buyers frequenting the market of Halifax . . . its total cost was upwards of £12,000." Nowadays, these various halls in Leeds, Wakefield, Halifax, and the other clothing towns of the district have either disappeared altogether or been

converted to other uses: that of Halifax, in addition to its original purpose, was often used as a meeting-place, and after the enfranchisement of the town in 1832 it witnessed many stirring scenes when the hustings were erected on its east side and the rival candidates harangued the electors.

Defoe speaks of the clothiers of the district as keeping at least one horse, wherewith to fetch their wool and carry away the cloth they made from it. In the early days of the eighteenth century the means of transit and communication in Yorkshire were bad; there was scarcely a decent road in the county, and many years had yet to elapse before Blind Jack of Knaresborough, most wonderful of all modern Yorkshiremen, showed his extraordinary skill in making them. Halifax itself, geographically speaking, is even now an out-of-the-way place; Whitaker, who was strongly of opinion that Elland was "the proper site for the capital of the parish," says of Halifax, "The principal town of this extensive and populous district, after every improvement which wealth and skill could apply in the diversion of roads, can only be approached by ascending or descending a precipice." This was a somewhat heightened way of putting things, even in Whitaker's time, but it is quite true that Halifax was practically cut off from Lancashire on one side, and the rest of the West Riding on the other until well on in the eighteenth century, and that everything in the shape of merchandise, brought into, or carried away from it, had to be conveyed by pack-horses. Yet in close proximity was the river Calder, and in the time of George II., the merchants of Halifax, aided by Sir George Savile, procured an Act of Parliament for the improvement of its navigation. In 1757 the famous engineer, James Smeaton, builder of the Eddystone Lighthouse, himself a Yorkshireman, was called in to

advise, and he gave a certain amount of supervision to the making of the Aire and Calder canal until 1765, when Brindley, who had already become famous as the engineer of the epoch-making Bridgwater canal between Worsley and Manchester, replaced him. Two years later all that had been done was ruined by the great flood of October, 1767. Smeaton again acted as consultant and supervisor between 1770 and 1779, and eventually twenty-two miles of canal, extending from Wakefield to Sowerby, were completed, and brought Halifax into touch with the east and west, the Rochdale canal communicating with the new construction at Sowerby Bridge. Some idea of the difficulties attending this work may be gained from the fact that in the twenty-two miles there were no fewer than thirty-eight locks and a fall of nearly two hundred feet. The opening of this waterway gave great impetus to the trade of the district, especially to the stone quarrying about Elland and the ironstone and coal mines between Halifax and Mirfield.

About the time that Smeaton was busied with the work in its first stages, Halifax got its first newspaper, the *Union Journal* or *Halifax Advertiser*, which began weekly issue in 1759 under the auspices of Sir George Savile and the Union Club. It "took in" advertisements at three shillings and sixpence each, gave extracts from the *London Gazette* and other journals, and offered its readers items of local interest of the following nature: "May 4th, Sunday, was observed with the usual diversions, the annual Wake or Tide in the pasture ground near the river Calder in Skircoat, where, under the pretext of viewing the grazing animals, was assembled an amazing multitude of people, who spent the greatest part of the day in running, wrestling, and leaping; somewhat resembling the Olympic Games of old; and to refresh fainting nature, hucksters, tipplers, *et cet.*, were

present with their wares." "July, the inhabitants of the town were for three days amused with a grand cock match between Robert Stansfield and Robert Hawkesworth, Esquires, and William Southern and — Harvey, Esquires, when twenty-two battles were won by the former and thirteen by the latter." "This year was made a curious wager, for £50, between Mr. Hoyland of this town, and Mr. Oldfield, of Chester: Mr. Hoyland betted that his black Galloway would walk round Skircoat Common on its hind legs, in ten minutes, without its fore legs ever touching the ground. Mr. Oldfield offered £5 to be off the wager on seeing the Galloway perform its exercise." "A Wager has been determined for a considerable sum, that a mare did not draw three packs of goods from the Hanging Gate, below Blackstone Edge, to Halifax, in eight hours: which she performed in 6 hours and 2 minutes with great ease and, what is remarkable, she did not sweat a hair in coming in." These are typical of the amusements of the time; that there were some folk in Halifax who had other tastes is shown by the fact that in 1769 a public circulating subscription library was opened, its tickets were a guinea and its subscription five shillings: by 1836, according to Crabtree, the value of a ticket was seven guineas, and the subscription was just five times the original amount.

In the same year, 1769, there was much excitement in Halifax and its neighbourhood over the capture of a gang of coiners, which for some years had carried on its nefarious work in the solitudes of Turvin Vale, a truly romantic spot in the township of Erringden. It was the practice of these folk, says, Crabtree, "to diminish guineas by clipping and filing them; the clippings and filings were afterwards melted down and re-issued as coin; this trade had become so common that guineas were openly bought by leaders of the gang at 22*s*. a-piece.

Eventually some of the miscreants were captured and tried at York Assizes in 1770—two of them, James Oldfield, of Warley, and David Hartley, of Erringden, were executed, another, David Greenwood, of Hill Top, died in York Castle before he could be taken to the gallows. Nineteen of the gang were set free, with the result that they began operations again; one man, Thomas Greenwood, a woollen manufacturer, is said to have carried on this work for twenty years, and he and his associates were so bold in their conduct that they actually held an annual supper at Mytholmroyd, locally known as the Coiners' Feast.

The eighteenth century closed in Halifax as in most other manufacturing centres in Yorkshire, amidst great dissatisfaction amongst the labouring classes. In 1783 grain was being sold at such a price in Halifax that a mob assembled in the town, seized stores of corn, and sold it at their own prices. Two of the leaders of this assemblage were hanged for their pains at a gallows erected on Beacon Hill. The truth is that the evils of the factory system were beginning to be felt, and that there was much want and privation; wages had sunk to a very low figure, and the law regarding settlement in a parish was harshly administered; according to Sir William Eden's big book, *The State of the Poor*, published in 1797, the Halifax overseer had only granted three leaving certificates in eighteen years; men who found life difficult there were accordingly unable to go and try their fortunes elsewhere. In 1799 oatmeal was being sold in the town at five guineas the load, and flour at six pounds the pack; most of the people were obliged to live on barley or bean meal. Fifty years later that period of the parish's history was still spoken of as Barley Time.

XI. THE MODERN BOROUGH

THE misery and degradation under which the ever-increasing population of the big manufacturing town spent the last years of the eighteenth century, continued to oppress them far into the nineteenth. In towns like Halifax, conditions had changed altogether since the beginning of the Hanoverian era. The life of the home-worker, so graphically described by Defoe, had almost disappeared. Machinery, steam, invention, had forced men, women, and children into the factory. What factory life was between 1780 and 1840 it is scarcely possible for us of this age to comprehend, so far are our ideas of civilisation and of human feeling different to those of our great-grandfathers. There were no limits to hours of labour; there was no provision for the comfort, none for the safety, of the worker. Children, forced into labour almost as soon as they could walk, were treated as children never were before, and never have been since. "They were fed," says Mr. Gibbins in his *Industrial History of England*, "upon the coarsest and cheapest food, often with the same as that served out to the pigs of their master. They slept by turns, and in relays, in filthy beds which were never cool; for one set of children were sent to sleep in them as soon as the others had gone off to their daily or nightly toil. There was often no discrimination of sexes; and disease,

misery, and vice grew as in a hot-bed of contagion. Some of these miserable beings tried to run away. To prevent their doing so, those suspected of this tendency had irons riveted on their ankles with long links reaching up to the hips, and were compelled to work and sleep in these chains—young women and girls as well as boys suffering this brutal treatment. Many died and were buried secretly at night, in some desolate spot, lest people should notice the number of the graves ; and many committed suicide." But the great national vice of the English nation, as all the rest of the world well knows, is arrant hypocrisy : at the very time that these things were going on, many sentimentalists were shedding tears over the woes of the African slave, and pulpits and platforms rang with denunciations of a traffic in human life which, at its very worst, was never one half so bad as that carried on with impunity by English capitalists and manufacturers between 1800 and 1830. It is another curious comment on our usual stupid inability, as a race, to see truth when it is put before us, that while children in Halifax, and in Bradford, and in Huddersfield were being treated with a literally fiendish cruelty, William Wilberforce, member of Parliament for the county, was stumping the country on behalf of the nigger, and had not one word to say for the defenceless folk of his own constituency. Fortunately there were men in Yorkshire who had words to say, and said them in plain fashion—to Michael Sadler, to John Fielden, above all to Richard Oastler, the working classes of the manufacturing districts of the West Riding owe a debt of gratitude which will be acknowledged with far greater appreciation by generations yet to be born than it has ever been up to now. " I tremble," says Arnold Toynbee, " to think of what this country would have been but for the Factory Acts." It is a curious thing, in looking back

on the history of those days, to remember that Sadler, Fielden, Oastler, and their staunch supporter, Lord Ashley, afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury, were all Tories, and were supported in their humane work by the Tory landed gentry, and that John Bright violently denounced the Ten Hours' Bill of 1847, a veritable God-send to the workers, as "one of the worst measures ever passed." But John Bright was a manufacturer, and a leader of the Manchester school, and a believer in Adam Smith's bad policy of *laissez faire*, which, reduced to practice, meant that Lancashire and Yorkshire capitalists of the period under notice were free to do as they liked with the white slaves out of whose miserable bodies they made their millions.

But in spite of all the troubles and disabilities of the labouring folk in the bad old days before the Factory Acts, Halifax, like its sister towns of Bradford and Huddersfield, continued to grow and to flourish. In the "thirties" and "forties" it became linked up with the rest of Yorkshire on one side and with Lancashire on the other by means of various railway lines. The Reform Act of 1832 gave it the right of returning two members to the House of Commons; it had been represented there for a time during the Commonwealth, but had lost the privilege when Charles II. came back to his throne. Its religious, social, and municipal accommodation was widened. There was no other church than the Parish Church within the township until the end of the eighteenth century, but in 1798 Holy Trinity was built; St. James's followed in 1832. The various dissenting bodies had built meeting houses at intervals since 1697: between 1800 and 1836 they erected several new ones. In 1813 a Lancasterian school was opened; two years later a National school was built near Holy Trinity Church. A Dispensary was founded in 1807;

within the next twenty-five years its officials dealt with over 80,000 patients. There had been a theatre in the town since 1790: tastes of another sort were satisfied by the erection, in 1828, of the New Rooms in Harrison Lane, wherein accommodation was provided for Balls, Cards, and Suppers—a very fine place this, "elegantly and tastefully furnished with crimson damask curtains, sofas, and ottomans, and with beautiful cut-glass chandeliers." A second Library was founded in 1823, in Old Cock Yard; in 1830 came into being that highly important body, the Halifax Literary and Philosophical Society "for the advancement of Literature, Science, and Philosophical Research": five years previously the Mechanics' Institute had originated in a request signed by a number of operatives who wished to acquire "practical and scientific information." Like all other men of the Yorkshire manufacturing towns, these busy workers were eager for education; it is good to know that their appeal "met with the encouragement it deserved from the more intelligent and wealthy classes of the community."

Since 1770 Halifax had been remarkably fortunate in possessing two great manufacturing families whose fortunes came to be as closely identified with the town and its progress as the careers of Holden and Lister are with Bradford, and that of Salt with Saltaire. In 1770, two manufacturers of Halifax, James and Jonathan Akroyd, descendants of an old family of yeomen whose land lay within the Liberties of the Forest of Hardwick, began making goods locally known as Amens and Little Johns. Amens were replicas of the figured goods of Amiens; Little Johns were calimancoes, wildbores, and lastings. At a later date, James Akroyd took his two sons into partnership and founded a bigger business; his son James was the first Halifax man to introduce

power-looms into the town. This was in 1822, when he built himself a fire-proof mill; five years later he brought the first Jacquard machine into Halifax. James, the author of a *History of the Worsted Manufacture in England* (1857), gives a list of the various goods and fabrics made by this James Akroyd, with the dates of their introduction. In 1798, ribbed calimancoes, lastings, and prunelles; in 1803, serges, shalloons, russells, wildbores; in 1811, moreens, soys, duroys; in 1813, bombazetts; in 1819, bombazines and crapes; in 1824, damasks; in 1827, French merinoes and full twills; in 1829, camlets, taborines, fancy russells, dobbies; in 1834, French figured damasks; in 1836, alpaca figures and figured Orleans. When one bears in mind that for the making of these fabrics special machinery had often to be not only erected but invented, one gets a very good idea of the enterprise and ingenuity of James Akroyd.

But the Akroyds were not the only enterprising folk in Halifax. About the time that James and Jonathan Akroyd began turning out their Amens and Little Johns there was born one John Crossley, who in due course was apprenticed to the carpet-weaving trade. He continued at this until he was nearly sixty years of age; then, he and his three sons, John, Joseph, and Francis took over a business until that time owned by the family of Abbot, and began to make carpets on a big scale. When the founder of the firm died in 1837 Crossleys were employing three hundred hands; by 1870 they had built their enormous mills at Dean Clough, had a world-market for their carpets, rugs, mats, tapestry, velvet, and kindred fabrics, and were employing well over five thousand people. Out of this great trade the Crossleys made vast fortunes, but they were scarcely more vast than the benevolence which every member of the family manifested in his dealings with his native town. There is a

Halifax tradition to the effect that when John Crossley the first took over the Abbot business, his wife made a solemn vow that if the Lord prospered the undertaking, the poor should benefit. Whether this is true or not—and it probably is very true—it is certain that one cannot walk anywhere in Halifax without seeing evidence of the Crossley munificence and generosity. Before their time Halifax had known many pious benefactors. The old Lords of the manor, the Waterhouses, had given largely of their substance to the town: John Abbot left £60,000 to be distributed amongst its various charities: the Akroyds left great sums for the benefit of the people who had helped to build up their fortunes: but the Crossleys were more than princely in their benefactions. In 1855 Francis Crossley built and endowed a fine range of almshouses; in 1863 Joseph Crossley built another; he enlarged it in 1870. In 1857 these two, in concert with their elder brother John, began the building of a great orphanage for children of both sexes, to accommodate five hundred inmates, boarded, lodged, clothed, and given all the advantages of a splendid education; the building itself, one of the sights of Halifax, cost fifty-six thousand pounds, and they endowed it for ever with three thousand pounds a year. Francis Crossley (who in his time was a member of Parliament, received a Baronetcy, and whose son, Sir Savile Crossley, was raised to the peerage as Baron Somerleyton in 1916) also gave a park to the town, which, laid out by Sir Joseph Paxton, cost forty thousand pounds; ten thousand pounds to the Halifax Infirmary; and a large sum towards the establishment of a Loan Fund for the benefit of young tradesmen starting in business. All these gifts and benefactions are matters of public knowledge—but no one knows what the Crossleys gave away, quietly and unostentatiously, in private charity.

By the time of the Crossley representation in Parliament, the enfranchised folk of Halifax had settled down to the give-and-take of politics which has more or less characterised English political life during the last sixty years. But when Halifax was first enfranchised political feeling ran high in the town. The first election took place in December, 1832, two days being devoted to the taking of the poll. There were two booths—one at Cow Green, the other at Ward's End; the number of voters on the register was 536; of these 492 went to the poll. The successful candidates were the Whigs, Mr. Rawdon Briggs, a local banker, and Mr. Charles Wood (afterwards Lord Halifax); Briggs received 242 votes, and Wood 235; the defeated Tories, Mr. Michael Stocks and the Hon. J. S. Wortley, secured 186 and 174 respectively. The returning officer's expenses were precisely one hundred guineas for the whole affair. This election passed off quietly and amicably, but early in January, 1835 there were great doings, when the second election under the Reform Act took place. Mr. Wood was again at the top of the poll with 336 votes, but his fellow Whig candidate, a Mr. Protheroe, was at the bottom; the Tory candidate, Mr. Wortley, coming in second with a poll of 308. Rioting immediately broke out on the part of the Radicals, infuriated by Wortley's return, and a mob of 500 persons proceeded, to the accompaniment of bands of music, to attack the houses and shops of Mr. Wortley's chief supporters. For several hours the town was at its mercy, and the result was that at a Special Sessions held at Halifax in the following February, and at a court held at York Castle in March, very considerable sums were assessed in satisfaction of damage done by the rioters. According to the returns of these assessments, the mob chiefly wreaked its fury on the publicans—Bottomley, of the Sun Inn, got £30;

Holdesworth, of the Three Pigeons, £30; Akroyd, of the King of Prussia, £15; Mann, of the White Hart, £8 9*s.* 6*d.*; Binns, of the White Horse, £6 9*s.* 10*d.*; Smithson, of the King's Head, £6 3*s.* 0*d.*; Mrs. Bairstow, of the Shakespeare Inn, £5 11*s.* 0*d.*; and Firth, of the Black Bull, £3. But Vicar Musgrave got £80 for the breaking of his windows at the Vicarage, and Mr. Norris, of Savile Hall, was awarded £799, wherefrom one gathers that he must have been a peculiarly obnoxious person, and a Tory of the deepest dye.

All around Halifax to this day are many delightful evidences of antiquity in the shape of fine old stone houses—halls and farmsteads which look as if they were still in their original Tudor or Jacobean period of existence. But in Halifax itself there are few remains of the old town. During the last forty years almost everything has been rebuilt or restored. Bull Green and Cow Green, once looked down upon by ancient gabled and timbered houses, are now surrounded by new erections, handsome enough, no doubt, but wanting age to mellow them. The old Grammar School at Heath has been rebuilt; little is left of the original buildings beyond a lectern and a window. The Parish Church, chief pride and glory of the town, was restored towards the end of the nineteenth century by Sir Gilbert Scott, at great cost. In 1859, one of the Akroyd family spent £70,000 in building All Souls': Sir Gilbert Scott was responsible for its erection, and carried it out in the style of the thirteenth century. In Square Church, the principal chapel of the Halifax Nonconformists, there is a fine specimen of the florid style of the Decorated Period with an elaborately crocketed spire and a fine east window. This cost much money, but money was spent freely in Halifax on building during the century in which its population increased from 14,000 to 100,000, and its

rateable value from an inconsiderable sum to nearly £500,000. It is equipped nowadays with everything that is complete and elaborate in modern economies of life and civilisation—schools, libraries, institutions, music, open spaces, tramways, sanitation, every aid to convenience and comfort that man has so far devised. They entitle Mr. Morris to call Halifax the handsomest of the Yorkshire manufacturing towns. Yet one has a certain wistful regret, even after viewing a sixty-thousand pound Town Hall, that more of the old place has not survived, and that it is only in the Parish Church, and in the Old Cock inn, and around a few ancient houses that one finds examples and traces of the Halifax of yesterday.

XII. THE GREAT MEN

AMONGST the great men born in or associated with the parish of Halifax, some of the local topographers and historians include certain more or less famous persons whose claims are wholly mythical or very doubtful. Wright, in his catalogue of worthies, places first, the thirteenth-century mathematician, John Sacro Bosco, " or John Holywood, or Halifax, for," he says, " I find him call'd by all these three Names. Leland says, he had his Name from the Place of his Nativity, there being a Market Town so call'd, famous for the Woollen Trade amongst the Brigantes or North Countrymen. In his younger years he studied, says the same antiquarian, so far as he can gather, in the University at the Ford of Isis, or Oxford. Afterwards in his riper age he visited Paris, where he was highly beloved and caress'd while alive and honourably buried at the public expense in the Church of Maturinus." But there is no evidence that the Holywood at which John de Sacro Bosco, contemporary of Roger Bacon, and author of *De Sphaera Mundi*, which was used in the schools for four centuries, is identical with Halifax: there were two places named Holywood in his time, and when Ralph Thoresby affirmed that he lay on his back on Beacon Hill " to observe the motion of the stars," he is only repeating legendary report which cannot be

substantiated: Stanihurst affirms that John was an Irishman and a native of Dublin. Wright, again, claims the great thirteenth-century Bishop of Lincoln, Robert Grosseteste as a Halifax man, and says he was of the Copleys of Copley, "whose pedigree Mr. Thoresby runs as high as the Norman Advent." But Grosseteste was born at Stradbroke in Suffolk, and instead of being of high lineage, he was of humble ancestry. Much has been made of Daniel Defoe's associations with Halifax: Watson says that "being forced to abscond on account of his political writings" he came to hide in Halifax, where he lived in the Back Lane, at the sign of the Rose and Crown, being known to Dr. Nettleton, a physician who was also a pamphleteer of some note, and to Mr. Priestley, a dissenting minister, and that during his residence there he wrote his work *De Jure Divino* and *Robinson Crusoe*. According to Mr. Wilfred Whitten, an expert in Defoe history, Daniel left London in 1712, not because of his political troubles, but because he had suffered another of his many failures in commercial speculations; he certainly came to reside in Halifax at that time, and as Alexander Selkirk had arrived in London in 1711 and had related his adventures, and as Defoe did not publish *Robinson Crusoe* until 1719, when the first part was issued by W. Taylor, at the Ship in Paternoster Row, on April 25th, it is very probable that some part of the immortal book was written at Halifax. But he did not write *De Jure Divino* there, for it was published in 1706. Whether Halifax can rightly claim *Robinson Crusoe* or not, it has an indisputable claim to Sir Thomas Browne's *Religio Medici*, which, says Dr. Greenhill, one of Browne's latest editors, "was written about 1635, while the author was living at Shibden Hall, near Halifax, after his return from his travels on the Continent, and before he settled at Norwich."

In addition to Tillotson and Lake, the parish of Halifax has given three of its natives to the bench of Bishops. Henry Tilson, born either in Ovenden or in Sowerby, entered Balliol College, Oxford, in 1593, took his bachelor's degree three years later, and was soon afterwards elected to a Fellowship of University College. He was preferred to the Vicarage of Rochdale in 1615, but a few years afterwards went to Ireland as Chaplain to the Earl of Stafford, who was then Lord Lieutenant. He became Dean of Christ Church, pro-vice-chancellor of Trinity College, and finally—in 1639—Bishop of Elphin. When the Civil War broke out he entered on troublous times. Ware, in his *History of the Irish Bishops*, says that Tilson delivered the Castle of Elphin to the Lord President of Connaught in August 1645; his eldest son, Captain Henry Tilson, had by that time joined the Parliamentary forces. Soon after this, the Bishop's library and goods were pillaged by Boetius Egan, titular Bishop of Elphin, and he then fled to England, where he took refuge with some of his relations at Soothill, near Dewsbury. He was now without means, and having a family of thirteen to support, he consecrated a room in Soothill Hall, and there exercised his ministry, "some of his neighbours being hearers and benefactors to him." Ultimately, Sir William Wentworth, of Bretton, having compassion on his poverty, employed him to preach at Comberworth, and gave him a stipend. In the register of Dewsbury parish church his burial is recorded. "Henry, Lord Bishop of Elphin, buried the 2nd day of April, 1655." Another Halifax man who became an Irish Bishop was Richard Deane, who, according to Anthony Wood's *Athenae Oxonienses*, was son of Gilbert Deane of Saltonstall and was "educated in grammaticals in his own country." He entered Merton College in 1587, and took his master's degree in 1592. He became Dean of Kilkenny, and in

1609 Bishop of Ossory; a marble monument in Kilkenny Cathedral records his death as having taken place in 1612. More famous than either Deane or Tilson was Robert Farrar, Bishop of St. David's, a martyr during the Marian persecution, who sprang from the ancient family of Farrar, or Ferrer, of Ewood. Originally an Austin friar, he seems to have been suspected of heresy at a very early stage of the English Reformation, and he was one of the first of the clergy to marry. Promoted to the Bishopric of St. David's by Protector Somerset in the reign of Edward VI. he was soon marked down as a victim when Queen Mary came to the throne, and he was publicly burned at Carmarthen, the chief town of his diocese, in March, 1555.

A Halifax scholar and controversialist of his time, very zealous against Popery and the Jesuits, was Joshua Hoyle, a Sowerby man, who, after some time spent at Oxford, went to Dublin, became a Fellow of Trinity College, and was elected Professor of Divinity. He appears to have been a person of vast labour. He, as Divinity Professor, "expounded the whole Bible through in daily lectures"; he also preached and expounded thrice every Sunday, and at least once, and often twice, every holy day. He replied weightily "to all Bellarmine's writings"—a considerable task, one fancies—and he indulged in controversy with "Will. Malone, Jesuit." When the Rebellion broke out in Ireland in 1641, he quitted Dublin for London, and became Vicar of Stepney, where "being too scholastical, he did not please the parishioners." He gave evidence against Archbishop Laud. That he was inclined to, or wholly favoured, Parliamentarism and Puritanism is proved by the fact that when that faction came into power he was made Master of University College, Oxford.

During the last half of the sixteenth century several

members of the great Yorkshire family of Savile, all born within the parish of Halifax, distinguished themselves greatly in the learned professions. Sir John Savile, eldest son of Henry Savile of Bradley in the township of Stainland, after being educated at Oxford, was called to the bar, became Autumn Reader of the Middle Temple, 1586, Steward of the Manor of Wakefield, a Sergeant at Law, a Baron of the Exchequer, and finally a Justice of Assize; he was knighted by James I. on his accession. His body was buried in St. Dunstan's, Fleet Street, "wanting his heart," which was carried to Methley Church for interment—his is one of the fine series of Savile tombs in that church. But much more famous—indeed, the most famous of all Halifax men—was his brother, Henry Savile, born in 1549. He was admitted to Merton College, Oxford, in his fourteenth year, and after taking his bachelor's degree in 1565 he was elected to a Fellowship. He soon acquired a great reputation in Greek and mathematics. In 1575 and 1576 he was Proctor: in 1578 he travelled extensively on the continent, returned "a very accomplished Gentleman," and was appointed instructor in his two favourite subjects to Queen Elizabeth, who had a very high opinion of him and his powers. In 1585 he was appointed Warden of Merton, and eleven years later Provost of Eton. James I. conferred the honour of knighthood on him at Windsor Castle, in 1604; just about that time he lost his only son, and "thenceforth devoted his time and fortune to the interests of learning." He founded two professorships in his University; he gave rare books and manuscripts to the Bodleian Library; he presented matrices and Greek type to the University printing press. Dying at Eton in 1622, he was buried in the College chapel, near the tomb of his son; there is a monument to his memory there, and another in Merton College chapel.

The author of many works, he is best remembered for his edition of St. Chrysostom (1613), the preparation and printing of which is said to have cost him eight thousand pounds. A younger brother of his, Thomas, after a career at Merton College, travelled extensively in various countries, was elected a Proctor at Oxford in 1592, and is commemorated in the register of Merton, where he was buried in the choir of the chapel. Another Merton man and a Savile, was Henry, one of the Saviles of Bank, who achieved great distinction as a traveller, a mathematician, a doctor, and an authority on heraldry and antiquities. He, like the Thomas just mentioned, gave Camden a considerable amount of help in the preparation of his various works.

It is interesting to know that the professorship of geometry founded at Oxford by Sir Henry Savile in 1619 soon fell into the hands of another Halifax man, Henry Briggs, of Warley, where, according to the Halifax registers, he was born in February, 1560. Briggs, one of the greatest mathematicians of his age, gave up most of his life to the study of logarithms, and he appears to have lectured on this subject at the newly established Gresham College in London for some time immediately following on its foundation. After his appointment to the Savilian professorship at Oxford he spent all the rest of his life at Merton College, and from thence published, in 1624, his *Arithmetica Logarithmica*, which contained the logarithms of 30,000 natural numbers to fourteen places of figures. This was followed, seven years later, by his tables of logarithms, sines, and tangents, published in London, 1631, under the title *Trigonometria Brittanica*. This was a posthumous work: Briggs died at Merton College in 1630, leaving behind him several geometrical and mathematical works in manuscript.

In the eighteenth century Halifax possessed a naturalist

whose work has never been as greatly appraised by Yorkshire students of natural history as it deserves to be. He was James Bolton, the date of whose birth is unknown, but who would appear to have been of something well over middle age when he died in 1799. He is mentioned in the Dictionary of National Biography as "a self-taught naturalist in humble life, residing near Halifax, in Yorkshire, who drew and etched all his own illustrations . . . he described the plants of Halifax in Watson's History of the Parish." But Bolton, as the late Mr. Charles Crossland pointed out in a lecture given before the Halifax Scientific Society in 1910, is poorly described in this account. Whether he was of humble origin or not, he certainly possessed a very fine library of classical and natural history literature. He contributed seven drawings to Relhan's *Flora Cantabrigiensis* in 1785: in the same year he published his monograph on Ferns; an appendix to it followed in 1790; his History of Fungi was issued in 1778–1791, and his book on British Song Birds in 1794. A German edition of the book on Fungi was published at Berlin in four parts, between 1795 and 1820. Many of his drawings, which are beautifully executed (in a medium which Mr. Worthington Smith, a leading expert, pronounces to be lamp-black), are in the Natural History Museum.

The Halifax celebrities of modern times are chiefly to be found amongst the great captains of industry—the Crossleys, Akroyds, Abbots, and the like. According to the carping critic, these, like the Salts, Holdens, Listers, Kitsons, Vickerses, and Wilsons, of Bradford, Leeds, Sheffield, Hull, are not great men at all—they are only men whom something enabled to become successful. However, there are those of us who believe that success is only achieved because of a certain inherent greatness. There are doubtless men who become successful by means

of sordid and persistent money-grubbing, but it is a much pleasanter thing to cherish a conviction that personal character (as in the case of all the men whose names have just been mentioned) has a good deal to do with the building up of family and fortune. It may be a reproach to a town like Halifax that during the era in which the Akroyds were making vast sums out of shalloons and kerseys, and the Crossleys out of carpets and tapestries, the town did not produce a great poet, or a distinguished historian, or a world-renowned thinker. It did, however, produce a statesman in James Stansfeld (1820–1898) who, after his first election as member of Parliament for the borough in 1859, closely allied himself with the cause of Italian unity and became the friend and generous helper of many of the Italian patriots who fled to England at the time when Italy was in transition. He was a sound and sane politician of the sort greatly favoured by hard-headed Yorkshiremen of the old-fashioned Liberal school, and ably filled many important posts in various Gladstonian governments, as Under-Secretary of State for India, 1866; third Lord of the Treasury, 1869; Financial Secretary to the Treasury, 1869; and President of the Poor Law Board in 1871. He was made a Privy Councillor in 1869, and in 1871, under Mr. Gladstone's Administration of 1868–1874, he was, on the resignation of Mr. Goschen, made President of the Poor Law Board, with a seat in the Cabinet. In his time he had seen Halifax undergo some strange and remarkable changes; its population increased from twenty to five times twenty thousand; its old landmarks disappear and modern buildings take their place; the town incorporated and its folk enfranchised; education developed and encouraged in truly surprising fashion, and the people lifted out of the horrors of the old factory days into a condition of liberty and progress.

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